

FIRST 100 DAYS / APPEAL FOR PARTNERSHIP

POLITICAL NOTES

Tsongas's Aide Arrested on Fraud Charges

BOSTON — The chief fund-raiser for former Senator Paul E. Tsongas's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination was indicted for defrauding the campaign of more than \$1 million in what the U.S. attorney's office here termed the largest case of campaign finance fraud in American history.

Nicholas A. Rizzo Jr., a longtime friend of Mr. Tsongas's, was arrested at his home in Andover, Massachusetts, and pleaded not guilty to a 46-count federal indictment. He was released on \$100,000 bail.

U.S. Attorney A. John Pappalardo said that Mr. Rizzo had stolen \$155,000 from the Tsongas campaign, which he then deposited in a secret personal bank account. This diversion deprived the campaign of critically needed matching federal funds during the presidential primaries last year. Mr. Tsongas won the New Hampshire primary but his campaign faded later, in part due to financing problems.

(NYT)

Hillary Clinton Cautions Against a Quick Fix

BOSTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton said the U.S. medical system would "kill us literally — financially, spiritually, morally and socially" unless it was restructured, but she also sought to lower public expectations that there would be any quick fixes.

After a 90-minute meeting with about 20 community health-care providers and activists here, Mrs. Clinton warned that "there is no way" that everyone would be happy with the overhaul agenda she was shaping, which is scheduled to be presented to Congress in May.

Mrs. Clinton, who heads the White House Task Force on National Health Care Reform, also vowed to "come up with a plan that will contain costs," noting that health-care spending if not controlled, could account for 20 percent of the gross domestic product within 10 years, up from the current 14 percent.

Having promised during the election to control health-care costs and provide universal insurance coverage, the administration is now increasingly hamstrung by its own projections that the budget deficit is worsening at a time when expanding coverage could cost \$90 billion a year or more.

(LAT)

Quote-Unquote

President Clinton: "Change is the way to make money, not throw people out of work."

(AP)

Away From Politics

• A jury was chosen in the federal civil rights trial of four Los Angeles police officers accused of brutally beating a black motorist. The judge in the case, John G. Davies, refused to allow the defense to remove a longtime black resident of the Watts neighborhood from the jury.

• Smoking will be banned in nearly all state buildings in California beginning Monday under an order signed by Governor Pete Wilson.

• Two police officers were shot and killed in Compton, California, when they stopped a pickup truck at an intersection. Authorities said that at least two people got away in the truck.

• Teachers in California will vote Wednesday and Thursday on a compromise contract proposal that would roll back a pay cut from 12 percent to 10 percent.

• A 17-year-old student was shot and killed at Reseda High School in Los Angeles's San Fernando Valley by a 15-year-old classmate as a dozen teenagers looked on. It was the second time in a month that a student had been gunned down on a Los Angeles campus.

• The sponsor of the St. Patrick's Day Parade in New York, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, has contend in court that the city is threatening this year's march by insisting that a homosexual organization be allowed to participate.

WP, AP, NYT, LAT

AMERICAN TOPICS

Outdoor Interview in Winter, A Frequent Peril of Celebrity

A Washington Post editorial issues a frigid blast against outdoor television interviews in the wintertime. "This is not the capital of Belize," The Post reminded the celebrities who stand still for such interviews. "The TV producers and reporters may love to pose you in front of Washington's stately buildings, but while you're out there in suit and tie or whatever trying not to shake and turn blue, they could, for all you know, be wearing electric underwear and enjoying themselves immensely."

The Post adds, "You'll notice that when journalists are on camera interrogating and haranguing one another ... they are doing it in a studio, not on some windswept promontory with the Washington Monument as backdrop."

And when it comes to interviewing ordinary people, The Post notes, television reporters "have learned to search in warm, enclosed locales where a neon beer sign often glows in the background. There, any request to step outside for an interview would be

answered with a simplicity and good sense worthy of emulation in Washington: 'Are you nuts? It's the middle of February!'

Short Takes

New York City has plenty of statues, but the only ones of women honor Joan of Arc, Mother Goose, Gertrude Stein and Alice in Wonderland. Now Eleanor Roosevelt is about to join this tiny group. A new Eleanor Roosevelt Monument Fund aims to raise \$1 million for an 8-foot (2.4-meter) bronze statue of the former first lady and militant for the underprivileged, to be erected in Riverside Park on Manhattan's West Side. Herb Zohn, a retired art dealer, came up with the idea. Members of the organizing committee include Mayor David N. Dinkins, the former first lady Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York and such show business figures as Helen Hayes, Katharine Hepburn, Kitty Carlisle Hart and Harry Belafonte.

"The 100 Best Small Towns in America" is a new book by Norman Crampton, a big-city boy who was born in Chicago. Mr. Crampton, 59, a former newspaper reporter and public relations expert, gauged the quality of life in communities that are outside metropolitan areas and have populations between 5,000 and 15,000. His main criteria were whether the towns were economically healthy

and pleasant to live in. His winner is Elko, Nevada, which has a high school, a daily newspaper, a community college and 17 churches. It also, unusually, has several gambling casinos.

At most colleges, engineering students get plenty of theory but hardly any practice until their third or fourth year. Now the federal government's National Science Foundation is trying to change all this. It has set up a five-year, \$60 million pilot program in which first-year engineering students will work together on practical projects: building portable shelters for homeless people, for example, or homemade windmills. "Traditional engineering courses," said William S. Butcher, the foundation's senior engineering adviser, "turn students off. They come in all hot to be engineers, and then they find themselves studying nothing but math and science."

The official portrait in the U.S. Treasury building of Donald T. Regan, who was one of Ronald Reagan's Treasury secretaries, shows him posing formally in front of a row of books. But one of the books bears the title "The Horse You Rode In On," which is no book title at all but the last half of an old off-color saying that Mr. Regan liked to use to express displeasure with somebody: "[Expletive deleted] and the horse you rode in on."

Arthur Higbee

Clinton Offers Yeltsin Talks and a Rise in Aid

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher plans to tell his Russian counterpart Thursday that the Clinton administration is ready for an early U.S.-Russia summit meeting, possibly by the end of March, and has decided to increase its assistance to Moscow despite an overall cut in U.S. foreign aid, according to a senior American official.

The reading for an early meeting between President Bill Clinton and President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia and the proposed increase in aid indicate the high priority the administration plans to place on Russia, the official said.

Both presidents had said they would like an early summit meeting. The Russians are known to have hoped originally for a meeting this month and more recently suggested a meeting in March. An administration official said Mr. Clinton was prepared to meet with Mr. Yeltsin by the end of next month if a mutually acceptable time and place could be found.

U.S. officials would prefer to limit both the length and the agenda of the initial Clinton-Yeltsin meeting and would expect a more extensive summit meeting to take place later.

"We're dealing with Yeltsin," a senior U.S. official said. "He is the engine behind the reform process."

Clinton Tells Business of the Need for a New Agenda

By Robert C. Siner
and Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton took his case for an American industrial policy to a bastion of business conservatism Tuesday, appealing to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce to support his program for a closer relationship between free enterprise and the federal government.

"There has to be a clear partnership here," the president told the Chamber's National Business Action Rally.

The partnership, he said, must be one that "empowers the private sector to grow jobs by having the right kind of environment, the right kind of incentives, the right kind of long-term commitments."

The president said that only government efforts to help encourage commercial research and development could keep American business competitive with its international rivals. It was the same theme he emphasized Monday when he unveiled a \$17 billion spending program to support high-technology projects.

"There is no way the private sector can equal the aggregate efforts in Germany, Japan or any other rich country, provided by the enormous public sector investment to support the private sector," Mr. Clinton warned.

Refusal to respond to this challenge, the president said, inevitably "means more high-wage jobs somewhere else and fewer high-wage jobs here."

"And we cannot tolerate that," he declared.

In announcing his initiative Monday for supporting science and technology, Mr. Clinton in effect launched one element of an industrial policy for the United States.

In general, his technology program would increase spending for civilian research and development to provide stronger support for industries that the White House believes will provide high-paying jobs over the long run.

The initiative would increase government financing for civilian research and development by 31 percent, to more than \$36 billion.

Mr. Clinton's predecessor, George Bush, was wary of having the government in the position of "picking winners and losers" in the private sector. By contrast, Mr. Clinton is on record as saying that the United States will have to follow the public-private partnership models of Europe and Japan if it wishes to remain competitive globally.

Mr. Clinton told the business



Bill Clinton sporting his presidential flight jacket while he talked with reporters aboard Air Force One en route to Washington state.

• Greater government investment in applied research in such fields as advanced manufacturing, aerospace, biotechnology and advanced materials. In aerospace, for example, Mr. Clinton wants to spend \$550 million over the next four years to encourage research in new aviation technologies, including supersonic transport.

• Increased partnerships between national laboratories such as the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California, and the private sector. Livermore is a leading military research center.

• Creation of a program that would enable the U.S. automobile industry to develop a nonpolluting car, presumably through the use of fuel storage cells. Other environmental research programs would receive funding increases.

• Added funding for a government program that encourages industry to form research and development consortiums, similar to one that the U.S. semiconductor industry has formed.

• Funding for the National Science Foundation and for national laboratories would be increased, while overall defense research would decrease, the White House said.

Mr. Gore said that a high priority would be the creation of a National Information Infrastructure and "information superhighways" that envision high-speed data links between universities and public and private research facilities.

The president said Tuesday that a new strategy must be developed and targeted at the commercial sector.

"We should begin with a program that increases public investment in technology," he said.

He said that selective tax increases and spending cuts were necessary to accomplish a full range of education and technology investments, as well as cuts in health care costs.

• A national network to help small and medium-sized businesses gain access to advanced technology.

The White House said that among the major items envisaged under the plan were:

• The entire \$17 billion is already built into the \$168 billion in new spending the president proposed with his long-term economic restructuring plan.

• A national network to help small and medium-sized businesses gain access to advanced technology.

• The White House said that the secretary's sharply reduced work schedule, some Pentagon matters — such as the preparation of the Clinton administration's first defense budget — could be affected by his absence.

On Monday, Mr. Aspin's spokesman, Vernon A. Gandy, said Mr. Aspin had fluid in his lungs but had not lost consciousness or gone into shock.

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Lingering Bronchitis' Keeps Aspin Hospitalized

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Defense Secretary Les Aspin is suffering from a "lingering bout of bronchitis" that had aggravated the effects of his heart ailment, and he will remain hospitalized for a third night, a Pentagon spokesman said Tuesday.

Bob Hall, the spokesman, said Mr. Aspin was due to undergo further examination and evaluation, but he declined to say exactly what

those examinations or tests would

Mr. Aspin, 54, was hospitalized Sunday after suffering from shortness of breath, a symptom that was linked to hypertrophic cardiomyopathy, a thickening of the heart muscle that can make it difficult for the heart to pump blood.

In a statement, Mr. Hall said the breathing problem apparently had been touched off by a typhoid infection that triggered a fever.

"These two problems compounded to aggravate the effects of his underlying heart condition and produce the acute symptoms of fatigue and shortness of breath experienced Sunday night, when he went to the hospital," Mr. Hall said.

In previous statements about Mr. Aspin's health, there had been no mention of the symptoms being "acute," or of any symptoms of fatigue.

Mr. Hall said Mr. Aspin's physicians believed that "a lingering bout of bronchitis" that he had had for about a week before receiving the inoculation had "played a part in his overall condition."

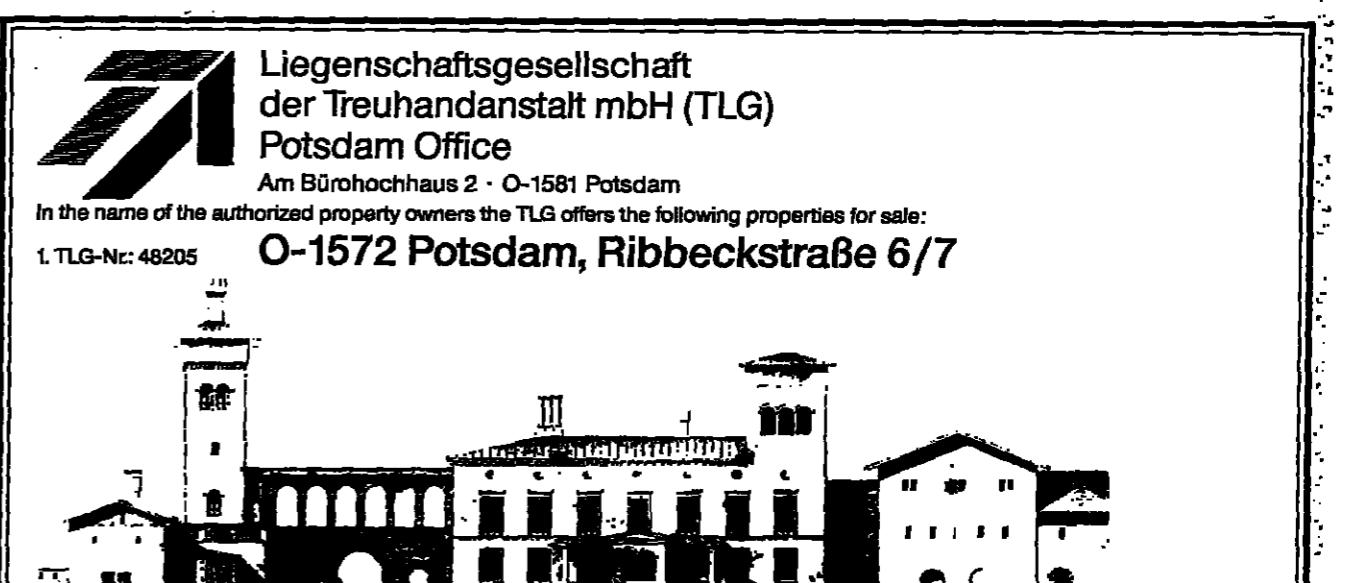
He added, however, that Mr. Aspin's physicians had said the secretary's condition was "significantly improved," and the spokesman said the secretary had been off the hospital in "a day or so."

Mr. Hall confirmed that Mr. Aspin had had the inoculation in

preparation for a trip to Somalia that has now been postponed.

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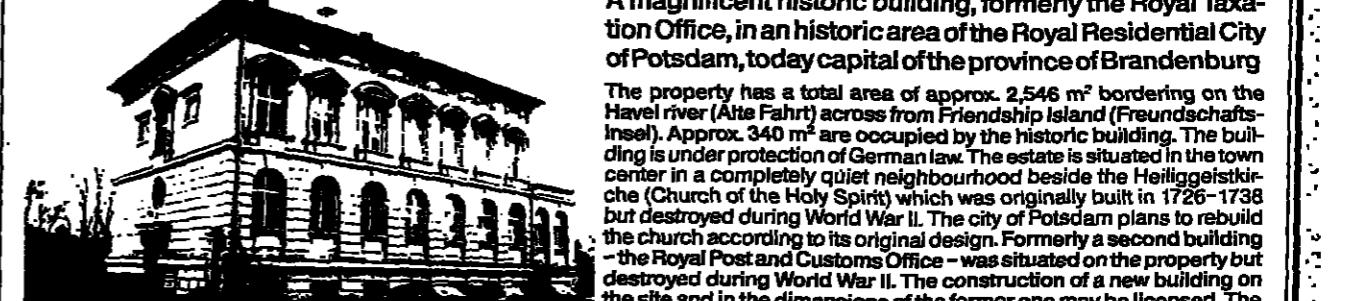
An architectural treasure in an excellent location: Ribbeckstraße 6, former Official Court of Bornstedt located just 5 km from the city limits of Germany's new capital, Berlin

It was built according to original plans in 1846 by L. Persius and J.H. Häberlin. The former Gardens were designed by P.J. Lenné. The estate measures approx. 16,971 m² bordering on the the Bornstedt Lake near the famous Sanssouci Castle of Frederick the Great. Approx. 5,740 m² are occupied by buildings, the interior space measures approx. 34,600 m². All historic buildings must be preserved as stipulated by German law. Buildings erected after 1945 have to be removed. New buildings are permissible in seven locations if they do not interfere with the historical integrity of the site. The existing administration buildings and structures as well as ancillary buildings are presently being used for commercial purposes. A dwelling-house with tower is leased. The buildings used for commercial purposes will be transferred in a vacant condition.

The historical buildings and perhaps new additional buildings have to be used according to the historical value of the complex. The local and the German federal authorities responsible for historic preservation wish to promote the use of the property for hotel and restaurant, meeting, training and congress facilities or one of these in combination with representative office or administration facilities.

The distance of the property to national major route B 273 is about 500 m, to the city center about 2,000 m, to the city limits of the German capital of Berlin about 5,000 m.

O-1572 Potsdam, Ribbeckstraße 6/7



Future use of the existing building and perhaps extendent structures shall be of excellent quality and consistent with preservation as a historical site. A combination of cultural, communication and commercial uses (representative company office, etc.), as well as private office and training facilities or similar ones are possible.

Along the banks of the Havel river a green belt is being planned and the required portion of the property has to be transferred to the city of Potsdam.

If claims for restitution must be taken into consideration sales shall be subject to the agreement of the claimant or an investment priority decision based on § 52, 4 Investmentswangsgesetz (Investment Priority Law) of German law. We are not liable for the contents and correctness of the sales material or the statements made above.

Purchase price: Bids are requested. The tenders shall be free of commission for the purchaser.

As AIDS Sweeps Uganda, Orphans Take Charge

By Donatella Lorch
New York Times Service

LUTENGO, Uganda — Before Julius Kintu's father died of AIDS five years ago, Julius learned from him how to grow coffee, squash and cassava, whose root is Uganda's staple food. Together they patched up the family's hut.

Then, a few months ago, Julius' mother, sick with AIDS and unable to care for herself, left her children and traveled to her mother's home to die.

Now 13, Julius has become the head of the family, the oldest boy of the seven children left to survive on their own on the two billy acres that yield their scant livelihood.

"My father taught me how to plant and my mother, she taught me discipline," said Julius, a thin wiry boy, his voice low and serious. "When I am older I want to be a doctor. I see so many people who are sick and they die before they even get to the hospital."

A decade after AIDS was first diagnosed in Uganda, the number of orphans surviving and schooling themselves is becoming an accepted part of society. The Government AIDS Commission estimates that AIDS-related deaths have left between 1.5 million and 2 million children without fathers (the legal definition of an orphan), of whom a majority have also lost their mothers.

The Kintu family is one of more than a hundred in this district led by a child 14 or younger.

The government has resisted setting up orphanages, saying it is economically and socially impractical. In a poor country where more than 85 percent of the residents farm, the aim is to keep orphans on their land — their only insurance for the future.

Orphans are but one of the many changes in the social fabric and traditions of this East African nation, one of the hardest hit by AIDS, as it struggles to cope — medically, emotionally, socially and politically — with an epidemic that continues to outrage prevention.

In Africa, as in much of the world, statistics on AIDS sometimes lack credibility, in large part because of inadequate reporting. Only 30 percent of Ugandans are in regular contact with health-care professionals.

Using 1988 projections, the government estimates that 9 percent of Uganda's 16.7 million people carry the virus. (The infection rate in the United States is estimated by the World Health Organization and others at 0.4 percent.)

In December, the Ugandan AIDS Control Program estimated about 38,500 cases of the disease, up 17,000 from the year before. But Godwill Asimwe-Okitor, an epidemiologist for the program, said the number might be closer to 380,000.

There are no figures available for the number of deaths.

Although its plague may be less widespread than the epidemics in other countries in Africa, Uganda has been the bellwether in acknowledging its problems and trying to deal with them: Over the past two years, the causes and treatment of AIDS have been demystified, and awareness of the epidemic has become widespread.

"Now in Uganda virtually everyone knows they have been exposed," explained Norine Kaleeba, the founder and director of the AIDS Support Organization, which advocates the rights of people with AIDS throughout Africa. "It is self-awareness that has caused this. The question is, Have I

caught it or not? It is not the blood-test results that are important; it is what you do. We all hope we can cope."

"Watching someone die of AIDS it is actually like watching a video of yourself. You wonder how long it will be before it is you yourself."

The epidemic has changed aspects of Uganda's social life. Kampala's brothels have closed down, and truck-stop hotels on the main highways that a few years ago were teeming with prostitutes are now hurting for business. "Positive Living" and "Love Carefully" are seen on T-shirts, walls and newsletters, and the mottoes are preached from universities to thatch huts, from President Yoweri K. Museveni to farmers.

There are political repercussions, as well.

The military, the backbone of the ruling party, has been hard hit; although there are no reliable statistics because testing has been limited, epidemiologists estimate that at least

AIDS deaths touch every Ugandan family, mostly the young adults and breadwinners or very young children, and relief workers say fear and emotional exhaustion are overwhelming.

The average life span after one is infected with HIV is five years. Hospitals are overcrowded, and there is a large market in herbal medicines and in some cases witchcraft to treat the disease. AZT and other such drugs are not available; infected Ugandans have access only to antibiotics, aspirin and cortisone cream for skin rashes.

In the villages and towns, every plot of red earth and banana palms has burial mounds. Funerals, once several-day affairs in which whole villages took part, now take only several hours. The year traditionally allowed for a widow to mourn has been shortened to less than 24 hours, after which it is considered bad luck to grieve.

By the mid-1990s, the great majority of new AIDS cases in the world will occur in sub-Saharan Africa, where an estimated 20 million Africans will become infected, according to a State Department report in 1992. The epidemic is expected to substantially weaken the political elites and damage the economies of the hardest-hit countries — Uganda, Rwanda, Malawi, Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe — all of which have HIV infection rates that exceed 5 percent of their populations.

Mr. Asimwe-Okitor, of the Ugandan AIDS Control Program, said surveys in particularly hard-hit regions southern Uganda showed that about 1 percent of the population was becoming infected with HIV each year.

"That's astronomical," he said, "and it might even be more than that."

India Rounds Up Hindu Party Activists

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW DELHI — The police launched a nationwide crackdown on activists of the main Hindu revisionist opposition party on Tuesday as Indian troops poured into New Delhi to prevent the group from holding a huge rally.

L. K. Advani, the leader of the Hindu fundamentalist Bharatiya Janata Party, accused the government of imposing an "undeclared emergency" by arresting tens of thousands of his followers.

"It is the legitimate right of a political party to hold a rally," he declared. "Why is our rally banned? What is the government afraid of?"

Parliament adjourned briefly in uprump as Bharatiya Janata legislators threw paper balls and chanted accusations that the government of Prime Minister P. V. Narasimha Rao was "murdering" democracy by using force to counter their protest.

Mr. Rao, citing the tense communal situation in India since the Dec. 6 razing of a 16th-century mosque in Ayodhya by Hindu militants, has banned all rallies and

demonstrations in New Delhi for at least three months.

Nearly 2,000 people have been killed in Hindu-Muslim clashes since the mosque was destroyed. Many Hindus believe the mosque was built on the ruins of a temple.

Central New Delhi has been turned into a virtual fortress as the security forces sealed off the sprawling Boat Club lawns where the Bharatiya Janata Party plans to hold its rally in defiance of the government ban.

"We have orders to break their legs," Inspector Ashok Hari said. His men were holding 20 Bharatiya

Janata supporters at gunpoint Tuesday after they had strayed into the downtown area.

But Hindu activists remained defiant.

"Shoot me, kill me, but I will join the rally," said Vishwanath Padak, who traveled here from the western state of Maharashtra.

The government has brought in about 10,000 paramilitary Border Security Force troops and Sikh policemen from the northern states of Kashmir and Punjab to beef up New Delhi's 55,000-member police department.

Tens of thousands of Bharatiya

Janata supporters were arrested in several states before they could board trains and buses for the capital.

Officials said more than 20,000 Bharatiya Janata activists had been arrested in the crackdown, more than 3,000 in the central state of Madhya Pradesh.

The Bharatiya Janata Party has accused the government of "hysteria" and "savage and repressive behavior," and has asserted that more than 100,000 supporters planning to attend Thursday's "National Conscience" rally had been detained across India. (AFP, Reuters)

China Pressed on Newsman's Beating

The Associated Press

BELING — The Foreign Correspondents Club of China pressed the government Tuesday to investigate the police beating last year of an American television reporter whose injuries have prevented him from returning to work.

In a letter to the Foreign Ministry, the club said that medical

checks of Todd Carroll, Beijing bureau chief for ABC News, found that physical trauma caused swelling of the brain and spine damage.

It said that Mr. Carroll, who returned to the United States for medical treatment a month after he was roughed up and detained in Tiananmen Square in June, was bedridden for several months.

He "continues to have difficulty walking," the letter said. "He can sit up for periods of only 35 to 40 minutes at a time. He suffers near constant pain in his legs, back and neck."

Mr. Carroll was one of seven journalists detained on June 3, 1992, the third anniversary of the crackdown on pro-democracy activists.

Hanoi Edgy On Border Instability

Reuters

KONTUM, Vietnam — General Dao Dinh Luyen, Vietnam's chief of staff, has visited the Central Highlands to prepare border troops for possible trouble from the Khmer Rouge after the Cambodian elections, military sources said.

General Luyen spent three days in Pleiku, capital of Gia Lai-Kontum Province and the headquarters of the Vietnam military's 3d Corps, and in neighboring provinces, they said.

"The army is worried there will be problems with Cambodia after the elections," a soldier said.

Vietnamese officials say privately they doubt that UN peacekeepers will be able to ensure stability in Cambodia and will probably pull out some time after elections. They fear that the Khmer Rouge, which describes its eastern neighbor as an enemy bent on taking over Cambodia, might renew attacks on Vietnam's border they say.

United Nations peacekeeping forces are attempting to disarm Cambodia's warring factions and organize elections in May under an international peace plan.

The Khmer Rouge is the only one of four factions that has refused to lay down its arms and take part in the elections.

The visit to the Central Highlands by General Luyen, Vietnam's second-ranked military officer after Defense Minister Doan Khu, signaled growing unease in Hanoi over the Khmer Rouge's refusal to cooperate, military sources said in Pleiku.

The Vietnamese government has repeatedly accused the Maoist guerrilla group of trying to sabotage the peace plan and has described the situation in Cambodia as increasingly "complicated."

The fanatically anti-Vietnamese Khmer Rouge, which ruled Cambodia from 1975 to 1979, killed many Vietnamese villagers in cross-border incursions in 1977 and 1978.

Vietnamese troops invaded

Cambodia in December 1978 and

toppled the Khmer Rouge in January 1979. Hanoi withdrew its forces in September 1989.



A Marine corporal helping a 7-month-old to some nourishment Tuesday at a center in Mogadishu.

'Defanging' Somalia's Militias

'Tough to Find a Good Guy,' Sergeant Says

By Molly Moore
Washington Post Service

BEER XAANI, Somalia — First Sergeant Bill Killoran sat in the glow of the evening campfire, sipping tea and listening to a Phil Collins tape with the senior colonels of one of Somalia's most feared militias, men accused of pilaging villages and slaughtering families of rival clans.

For the last week, Sergeant Killoran and seven other members of an elite U.S. Army Special Forces team have been living on the edge of a foul, snake-infested pond deep in the red Somal desert, where they have tried to get close to the inner circle of General Mohammed Said Hensi Morgan's top field commanders.

"We try to befriend them," Sergeant Killoran, 33, an engineer from McLean, Virginia, said of the ragtag Morgan militia. "They could turn on us anytime they want to — but if they did, they would have hell to pay."

Most U.S. Marines and soldiers have roared into Somal towns in noisy shows of force or rolled into the countryside as heavily armed escorts for relief convoys. But six Special Forces teams have slipped quietly into the desert on "defanging" missions, collecting intelligence on feuding warlords and waging intense, unpublicized efforts to prevent bloody clashes between warring clans.

Living on packaged military meals supplemented by wild birds and dixie-sets — small antelope that populate the desert — the U.S. soldiers have established acacia tree lookout posts to spy on rival clans and monitor raiding parties. They

have scoured villages, pumping elders for details of troop numbers and locations, offering sacks of grain in return for cooperation and information.

"You don't just blow into a village, shake everybody down and lay them out in the street," said Major Lealon Carroll, commander of the Special Forces group assigned to Somalia. "We're trying to win hearts and minds and get information."

The Special Forces teams, whose members have received training in the Somali language and culture, also have found themselves acting as unofficial mediators and negotiators. And no situation has been more prickly than the standoff between General Morgan's forces and those of his archenemy, Colonel Omer Jess, over the strategic port town of Kismayu in southern Somalia. Each warlord claims the sprawling commercial center as his own, and they have been involved in a brutal tug-of-war over it.

While most other rival warlords have acquiesced to U.S. demands to cease their attacks, General Morgan and Colonel Jess have clashed repeatedly despite coalition efforts to block their raids. On Monday, in the latest fighting, seven Somalis were killed and 21 wounded when the rival forces battled for five hours in Kismayu, according to news agency reports.

After U.S. Army commanders dispatched attack helicopters to break up a Morgan-led battle outside Kismayu three weeks ago, Special Forces teams were sent into the desert near this abandoned crossroads village 55 kilometers northwest of Kismayu to monitor the

coalition forces outside of town.

"It's really tough to find a good guy," said Sergeant Carroll of the Special Forces. "Each one has his own type of atrocities. It's ugly."

Fighting Delays Pullout

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The government would have been able to withdraw its forces from Somalia if General Morgan did not ask the soldiers to surround the offices of the ministers," Mr. Tshisekedi said. "But it is still the legal government."

The United States, Belgium and France — the chief backers in recent years — are preparing to intensify a yearlong campaign to persuade Marshal Mobutu to step down to clear the way for a democratic government, according to administration sources in Washington. Among measures under consideration are seizing Marshal Mobutu's personal assets abroad, such as his airplanes, yacht, houses and bank accounts.

Western diplomats here say they are virtually exhausted the measures they are prepared to take in dealing with Marshal Mobutu, short of direct military action. "I don't know if we'll ever issue another statement to Mobutu," said an exasperated Western diplomat. "Why waste your breath? He doesn't listen."

Amid the stalemate, analysts say, some Zairians may consider abandoning their peaceful struggle for democracy and launching a guerrilla war to oust Marshal Mobutu. "There's a current of thought out there that the only solution to the problem of Mobutu and his army is to arm and fight," said a Western diplomat. "It's not the answer — that would lead to civil war. But what's the alternative?"

TO MAKE YOUR
STAY MORE
PLEASANT OUR
STAFF WILL WALK
ALL OVER YOU.

ONE OF THE MANY RELAXING FEATURES AT

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MOBUTU: As Calls for Ouster Multiply, Zairian Leader Clings to Power

(Continued from page 1)</p

What Did Jackson Really Tell Us?

By Ann Powers
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — First, make a decision to believe Michael Jackson or don't. And then forget your decision, because it doesn't matter in the triumphant return of the prodigal star to the fold.

Jackson's recent television testimony, which reached 62 million viewers, ranged from the shocking (he's fighting a skin disease) to the expected (yes, his father beat him) to the trivial (no, he didn't fake the moonwalk).

Maybe you've spent some time debating which of his claims to accept and which to deride. What matters is that Jackson was there, for his fans, for every hungry consumer of celebrity who couldn't make a sensible story from the rumors, the brief appearances and the music that seems so distant from the man.

By using Oprah Winfrey to tell America and the world his secrets, Jackson reclaimed his status as a "normal" celebrity. His distance from the average person remains.

That's O.K. — people expect artists to be odd and famous to make them stranger. But because fans take popular culture personally, they need to comprehend the individual behind their favorite movie performance, television talk show or hit song.

For the 14 years during which he avoided interviews, Jackson failed to offer even the illusion of familiarity. His recent confessions provided the glue with which celebrity followers can reassemble the fragments of his puzzle.

Jackson's strangeness as an artist has to do with his eccentricities, but also with his long refusal, or inability, to play stardom's personality game.

During the interview, he named Michelangelo as his model, invoking a classical ideal of the artist that emphasizes inspiration over individuality. He also praised James Brown, linking his own work with that of the visionary soul master, whose music was meant to restructure sound itself.

If people were to accept this impersonal

Michael Jackson
Agence France Presse

young individuality. Critics have called his transformations inhuman, referring to Jackson as a cyborg or a corporate logo and noting that his choices reflect a white idea of physical perfection that contradicts his roots.

In fact, Jackson doesn't look white or black; whether because of disease or through his own attempts to change, his features now elude easy racial or gender categorization. Like his unwillingness to talk and his exclusiveness, Jackson's ambiguous looks distinguish rather than protect him. In trying to erase himself, he became the most singular star of all.

His music has always communicated sexuality, but he has failed confidently incorporate sex into his persona. Songs like "In the Closet" and his new single, "Give in to Me," take sex to the point of surrender but don't cross the line. They are a virgin's dream of danger, in which sensuality is always tied to frustration and anxiety. Keeping sex at a distance, Jackson views himself as a family artist. His most recent appearances show how he views the world, and wishes to embrace it, within the context of the family.

The Super Bowl, where Jackson performed last month, was Dad's territory, a place that the father can always be found. Jackson's half-time extravaganza was about both prowess and paternalism and illustrated how his notions of sex are linked to fatherhood.

The chief element in Jackson's talk-show testimony, upon which all the others rested, was his confirmation that he had been abused as a child. Domestic violence is a reality, but it also has become a metaphor for the power structure upon which the nuclear family rests. It brings the discussion of society's cruelties down to a personal level.

Regardless of whether his father beat him, the young Michael Jackson was certainly abused — by the media, by the music industry and, in some ways, through the hunger of his own fans. For audiences to admit this, they would have to confront their own complicity in a system that glorifies and hounds the few while reducing the masses to voiceless anonymity.



Act II's scene of revelry, resembling "a Halloween party in a bawdy house."

Maurice Nottet-Robert

The Invisible Man's Jovial Bag of Tricks

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Forty years after Joan Littlewood took over the running of the Theatre Royal, Stratford East, where an hour before opening night of "Oh! What A Lovely War" they found her on hands and knees scrubbing the foyer ("What are you doing?" they asked; "Expecting company?" came the reply) her spirit is celebrated in the latest show to transfer from that playhouse to the West End.

Ken Hill's "The Invisible Man" (at the Vaudeville) takes the 100-year-old H. G. Wells science-fiction thriller and converts it to a typical Littlewood music-hall spectacle of the Victorian era. Thus we get cheery songs and dances from a company that later converts itself into the little Kent community of Iping where "something terrible" is about to happen.

What happens of course is the arrival of a coat and hat but no body. In a series of stunning stage devices, ownerless cigarettes are smoked to the butt, glasses are captured by invisible throats, and newspapers turn their own pages. Indeed the real star of this show is its magic adviser Paul Kieve, who has turned it into a Jovial box of tricks.

Any underlying message that Wells may have had about the dictatorial powers of muzzed science soon vanishes into a welter of trickery, through which we are led by Brian Murphy as a jovial gypsy who, taken up by the Invisible Man as a kind of Sancho Panza, lived on to tell the tale for profit around the vaudeville circuit.

Conventions of sci-fi and music-hall do not

always blend happily, yet for all that Hill manages an uproarious family entertainment.

Like its near-contemporary "Peter Pan," "Tremlawy of the Wells'" is one of those scripts that everyone hates except the public, and the actors who get to play it. After a 30-year absence from London, Pinero's epitaph for the old actor-ladies has turned up twice, just before Christmas in a patchy all-star West End

LONDON THEATER

revival sadly lacking much direction, and now in a vastly better John Caird production for the open Olivier stage of the National.

The mystery, though, is why he didn't go for the musical: Caird at his best ("Les Misérables") and his worst ("Children of Eden") is a director who, like his old partner Trevor Nunn, knows a very great deal about how to give classical dignity to song-and-dance shows.

What we have, however, is the play and here as with the recent "Pygmalion" on this same stage, the National production seems to be straining toward something bigger and more like a feature film or the full Broadway production. Indeed, the single most breathtaking moment is a scenic one, when the theatrical boardroom to which Rose Tremlawy has returned after her unhappy sojourn in Cavendish Square is suddenly opened out to reveal the bare stage of a huge Victorian playhouse complete with wings and royal boxes.

Written in the 1890s but set back 30 years, the play mourns the passing of the old barnstomers (superlatively played here by Betty Marsden and Michael Bryant): "I am required to play an old, ham actor" "Oh but dearest, will you be able to

come close to it?" while celebrating the arrival of Tom Robert (thirstily disguised here as Tom Wrench) and his "cup and saucer realism." Yet by the time the play was first seen, that too was being thrown out of the green-room by the arrival of Shaw and even Ibsen, so Pinero is left with a kind of Garrick Club nostalgia trip onto which he has had to batch a conventional love story.

Everything therefore depends on the playing, and here Caird is superbly served: Helen McCrory, in the title role, perfectly captures Rose's crossover from a lowborn ingenue to wounded woman, while Steven Pacey, Kevin Williams and Adam Kotch brilliantly distinguish between the classic theatrical types who surround her into the boardinghouse and backstage. But the performance of the evening, indeed I suspect already one of the award-winning performances of the year, is that of Robin Bailey as Vice Chancellor Sir William Gower. From his first appearance from beneath a handkerchief in the awful stillness of Cavendish Square through his horror at the social ineptitude of the players ("Have we no chain? Do we lack chairs?"), to his heart-breaking conversion at Rose's hands to his own theatrical memories ("Kean! Ah Kean! He was a splendid gypsy"), Bailey and Caird have wonderfully recognized that this is essentially a play about Gower and his eventual reawakening to the magic of theater, as much as it is ever about Rose's marital problems or Tom's desire to be a revolutionary dramatist.

"Tremlawy of the Wells'" is that curious contradiction, a great play without being a very good one, but for the second time in 30 years the National has shown us precisely how it should be done.

New Depths of Gloom in 'Traviata'

By David Stevens
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — In its new production at the Théâtre du Châtelet, "La Traviata" is presented more as a pitiless X-ray than a subtly revealing portrait. Klaus Michael Gruber's staging leaves nothing to the imagination in its social and psychological analysis, but the result is severely damaging to the music that should be the main dramatic vehicle.

Not that he is wrong. Violetta is indeed dreadfully alone in the midst of a crowd of superficial people, she is marginalized by society and doomed by illness as well. And here she is shown alone, even when surrounded by people in the parties of the first and third scenes, not even making any real contact with Alfredo or Pata Germon.

But Gruber does not wait for the disaster of the final act. He begins with it, at least in mood, leaving himself nowhere to go. Each act is played in gloom, dark except for some isolated lamps, with the action confined to the ramp of the stage and the background a suggestion of nocturnal Paris cityscape. Even the idyll of the country house is enveloped in gloom. It is as if Violetta has already died and the events of her life are being re-enacted as a parody.

The first-act guests look like nothing so much as a bunch of well-dressed revelers recuperating in a police drunk tank, accompanied by a naked young lady looking like a misplaced caryatid. The second-act festivities might be a Halloween party in a bawdy house.

Verdi, as always, is deliberately superficial in his dance music because something serious is always going on behind the facade, but the facade is not grotesque.

But the meticulous staging had its own time

frame that seemed to weigh on the music.

Antonio Pappano, the young but experienced conductor in the pit with the Philharmonia Orchestra, seemed to be driving with one foot on the accelerator and the other on the brake, adjusting to stage events as he went along.

The first of two young casts offered fresh, attractive voices. Giusy Devini was an appealing and moving Violetta, with a voice more at home in the lyric passages than in the coloratura or dramatic lines. Vicente Ombrone, a fresh-voiced tenor, was Alfredo, and Victor Torelli solid and implacable as the older Germont.

Lucio Fanti's sets reinforced Gruber's psychological overwrought view of the story, with some telling touches such as the warped windows in Flora's party house and the brooding, anonymous windows of the distant city. And the sets were in turn underlined by Rudy Sabouhni's costumes and Dominique Borini's lighting.

An interesting aspect of this production was the presence in the pit of the Philharmonia. The celebrated London orchestra is in the first year of a four-year arrangement with the Châtelet that will bring the orchestra to the Paris theater for both opera and concerts. This week it is also playing two concerts in the theater's ongoing Bartók cycle.

This has mutually beneficial aspects. On the one hand Stéphane Lissner, the Châtelet's director, has ambitious, long-range plans and, having no house orchestra, needs some solid reinforcement that cannot be entirely guaranteed by the major Paris ensembles. On the other hand, the orchestra is a self-governing cooperative, which means it gets paid when it works. Besides its London concerts (45 this year at Royal Festival Hall), it welcomes the chance to show itself abroad.

"It was difficult to convince them about coming here," said Vincent Meyer, the 41-year-old Frenchman who has been the orchestra's president for eight years.

"The orchestra paid a lump sum to rehearse in London for a week and be in Paris for almost a month, which works out to less pay than usual. But in the end the orchestra was convinced by the serious, long-range artistic goals of the theater."

In addition, the orchestra's agenda of some 250 working sessions this season includes regular appearances at the festival in Taormina, Sicily; a program of joint concerts of 20th-century music with Pierre Boulez's Ensemble Intercontemporain of Paris; a program of commissioning new works from contemporary composers, and recording dates.

Further performances of "La Traviata" are Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday and March 1 and 2. A Philharmonia concert Friday at the Châtelet, under Ivan Fischer features Thomas Zehetmair as soloist in Bartók's Violin Concerto No. 2.

Up From Pop: Carly Simon Takes a Fling at Opera

The Associated Press

NEW YORK — Carly Simon never imagined she would write an opera. But that was before the Metropolitan Opera Guild and the Kennedy Center in Washington, kicking off a project seeking new audiences for opera, asked the pop singer and songwriter to try her hand.

The opera, "Romulus, Hur," revolves

around a 12-year-old lead character who is the son of divorced, former-hippie parents. It

opens Thursday at the John Jay Theatre here and continues until March 7, then moves to the Kennedy Center from April 7 to April 11.

The plot centers on Rom, whose father has become more bohemian while his mother has turned proper. Rom changes clothes in tact, traveling between parents, to and from lifestyles. He and an imaginary friend devise a

plan to try to get the parents back together.

Simon thinks her melodies sound more classical than her pop songs. Her harmonies were influenced by the French composers Gabriel Fauré and Francis Poulenc.

"But my rhythm orientation is modern and pop. I was not interested in changing that," she said. "I think that's the most interesting part of the fusion — the rhythms of pop and more classical melodies."

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE

Allergic to Government

Over the weekend, the public got a look at the Republican response, such as it is. The Republican legislators and their fellow-traveling commentators are worried — yes, gravely worried — about President Bill Clinton's economic proposals.

Their arguments, boiled to basics, are two-fold. They believe that his efforts to reduce the deficit rely too much on new taxes and not enough on spending cuts. And, in words usually reserved for the Apocalypse, they warn that his strategy will vastly expand government's reach, cripple the markets and stampede the nation into statism.

Some of the criticism reflects the ruffled pride of a party that finds itself boxed into a corner. Mr. Clinton has said, "Look, I'll take the political hit on the tax side; if you Republicans in Congress, who've been worried about needless spending for years, don't like my cuts, then offer something better."

True, that play obscures deficiencies in the president's plan. He wipes out no important government programs and takes a big bite out of only one, defense. And some of the cuts aren't cuts at all, but rather higher user fees and tax increases on wealthier Social Security recipients.

Yet this much can be said for him: He does more than merely rail against the deficit. And he at least addresses those programs that account for 70 percent of the federal budget — Medicare, Medicaid, Social Security and defense.

His critics' main line of response is theological. The Clinton formula — higher taxes, reduced consumption, targeted government investment — is the Devil's work. Better to embrace inertia than to let this heretic from Arkansas set the government in motion.

There should be no presumption that Mr.

Clinton's strategy is right simply because it favors more government investment. But there is something disingenuous about his critics' nostalgia for Reaganomics, which managed to quadruple the national debt in four years, such that interest payments are now one-seventh of the federal budget.

The Republicans' intellectual cupboard, to judge from what their leaders say, is bare than at any time since the Goldwater implosion. Challenged to specify cuts, Senator Bob Dole had to pull out the dog-eared script for an "across-the-board" freeze.

And there was something wistful about Jack Kemp's appeal to the old supply-side voodoo that if you just cut taxes the economy will grow its way out of the deficit. For many Americans, that didn't work the first time, and to them President Clinton's counterargument seems worth a try.

Where the opposition could profitably spend its time is not in abstract potshots at government's legitimate role in U.S. society, but in arguments over the dirty details. After all, the president's strategy will rise or fall partly on whether the spending programs he proposes are good or bad for the economy.

Should taxpayers' money be used to support research on technology? Develop programs of national service for high school graduates? Are a few billion dollars well spent on high-speed rail? Low-cost housing? Early childhood education?

The president has offered his choices. His critics should provide others. This is especially true of the Republicans, who had an entire decade to argue that the Magic of the Marketplace would fix every problem. In November, the voters seemed to call for a new level of government engagement.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Progress in South Africa

What was thought of as an impossibility in South Africa only a few years ago now appears on the verge of coming to pass. Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and the government of President Frederik W. de Klerk, once the country's two most bitter rivals, have endorsed an accord that, if allowed to work, will lead their racially stratified nation to living, working democracy and all that comes with it.

Final details must be negotiated with other groups in multiparty talks scheduled to resume on March 5 after a rancorous nine-month hiatus. For the moment, the world can savor the news that three years after Mr. Mandela's release from prison, South Africa's most potent political forces have agreed to share power in a transitional government of national unity formed on the basis of the country's first all-race election, to be held by early next year.

While all the ideas about the operations of the interim government have yet to coalesce, and other potentially disruptive rivals such as the Inkatha Freedom Party have yet to be fully heard from, some elements of the agreement are already known. Most important, the post-apartheid constitution, which transforms South Africa to a new political order with a new set of values and rights, will be drafted and adopted by a legislative body democratically elected on the basis of pro-

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Get Tough on Mobutu

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire is engaged in a grisly war of nerves against his own people. He has long profited from the view on the part of his foreign patrons — France, Belgium and the United States — that only he could keep his nation from exploding into tribal anarchy. Now, as democratic elements attempt to wrest power peacefully from him, he seems intent on generating new fears of chaos to retain power. There seems to be no price that this dictator is not prepared to make his country pay for his personal ends.

In the latest phase, Marshal Mobutu has used his special forces, drawn from his own Nkondi ethnic group, to defy the authority of an opposition government chosen by a democratic national conference last year. Abandoning any pretense of governing, he has simply taken over the central bank and television and deployed his troops to intimidate resistance. His foreign sponsors have cut off all but humanitarian aid, and private business activity is at a standstill. Marshal Mobutu is a hard case — and a good place for the Clinton team to show its concern for democracy in Africa.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

Other Comment

Pay Heed to Burma Atrocities

The unprecedented international solidarity shown last week for the protest mission of Nobel Peace Prize winners in campaigning for the unconditional release of their fellow laureate Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political prisoners has highlighted the need for the world to pay heed to the atrocities in Burma and take a stand.

Prime Minister Chuan Leekpai's impressive show of courage when he stood up against the military and allowed the laureates into Thailand to protest against neighboring Burma has been somewhat tempered by his statements on Saturday. Meeting the Nobel laureates he said: "Thailand and the Association of South East Asian Nations have their own means of dealing with the

— The Nation (Bangkok).

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International Herald Tribune, 181 Avenue Charles-de-Gaulle, 92521 Neuilly-sur-Seine, France.
Tel.: (1) 46.37.93.00. Telex: Circulation 512832; Production, 630698.
Directeur de la Publication: Richard D. Simmons
Chairman from 1958 to 1982: John Hay Whitney
Editor for Asia: Michael Richardson, 5 Canterbury Rd, Singapore 0511, Tel. 472-7768. Tel. RS 56928
Mng. Dir. Asia: Rolf D. Krause, 50 Gloucester Rd, Hong Kong, Tel. 3610516. Tel. 61170
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Yes, Do Our Best to Return to a Nonnuclear World

By Robert S. McNamara

WASHINGTON — In the wake of the first and second treaties on reducing strategic arms, many security experts say the world can afford a long pause in nuclear arms control. They are wrong.

Worldwide, there are about 40,000 nuclear warheads with a total destructive power

By then, the danger of nuclear war will have been lowered but not eliminated.

Further steps are needed to lower that risk. That was made clear by disclosures of how close the planet came to nuclear disaster during the Cuban missile crisis in 1962. It was a dramatic demonstration of fallibility — of the degree to which all parties were captives of misinformation, misjudgment and miscalculation.

It can be confidently predicted that the combination of human fallibility and nuclear arms will inevitably lead to nuclear destruction. Therefore, insofar as it is achievable, we should seek a return to a nonnuclear world.

I say "insofar as achievable" because one or more declared nuclear powers — or an international agency — would have to retain a small nuclear force, at most 100 to 200 warheads, as protection against blackmail by nations that would develop such weapons in secret.

More and more political and military leaders accept the idea that basic changes in the world's approach to nuclear weapons are required. Many have endorsed the idea of returning to a nonnuclear world, among them

Les Aspin in a speech at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in June.

Others still believe that the threat to use nuclear weapons prevents conventional war. This was the essential position of a report, "The Role of Nuclear Weapons in the New World Order," prepared by an advisory committee for the U.S. secretary of defense just over a year ago. Accepting this argument means accepting the risk that if deterrence fails, a nuclear exchange, which would destroy nations, may follow.

The United Nations Security Council could play a central role in stopping the further proliferation of all types of weapons of mass destruction and the means of delivering them.

At least 20 countries possess or can produce at least two types of weapons — whether nuclear, chemical or biological — or their delivery systems. Most have, or are believed to be developing, a capability in three or four of these categories.

To halt this proliferation, there is no alternative to collective, coercive Security Council action. It should take this form:

The Security Council would agree to pro-

hibit the development, production and purchase of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles by countries that do not have them.

Countries violating this ban would be subject to strict economic sanctions. If the sanctions had no effect, a UN military force would be given a mandate to eliminate the production capability and destroy any stocks produced or bought.

Countries that have such weapons — including both declared and undeclared nuclear powers such as India, Pakistan and Israel — would be subject to inspection and control and would be asked to approve a treaty prohibiting first use of nuclear weapons.

Progress on this difficult agenda would be accelerated if the United States re-examined its own long-term strategic nuclear aims. We Americans need to ask ourselves: What would be the rationale for having 3,500 nuclear weapons 10 years from now?

The writer was secretary of defense under Presidents John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson. He is a member of the Washington Council on Nonproliferation, which published a longer version of this paper. This article was adapted by The New York Times.

Is That Japanese Trade Surplus Really Such a Terrible Thing?

By Naoyuki Haraoka

more than a million times that of the Hiroshima bomb. Even assuming that the reductions required by the strategic arms treaties that Presidents George Bush and Boris Yeltsin signed are carried out, the stock of warheads of the five declared nuclear powers — the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain — is not likely to be reduced below 10,000 by the year 2003.

recession could be serious — and not only for Japan.

Before giving in to protectionist tendencies, however, we should take a closer look at the trade imbalance. What are the actual economic implications of running such an imbalance?

Is it really the disease it is thought to be?

But first consider the Japanese market's alleged lack of openness. In the past decade, this market has undergone a pronounced structural change. Since the Plaza Accord in 1985, the yen has appreciated considerably against the dollar and other major currencies, making imports into Japan cheaper. Imports of manufactured

goods have increased substantially. While recession in Japan has led to a temporary decline in imports, this does not change the fact that trends in the import structure are still positive for Japan's trading partners.

So do the underlying structural causes of Japan's growing trade surplus lie on the export side of the equation? Despite restraints in some areas, Japanese exports are still rising.

But first consider the Japanese market's alleged lack of openness. In the past decade, this market has undergone a pronounced structural change. Since the Plaza Accord in 1985, the yen has appreciated considerably against the dollar and other major currencies, making imports into Japan cheaper. Imports of manufactured

exporters come up against restrictions in the United States. But U.S. merchandise exports to the world rose by 30 percent between 1988 and 1991.

And as a customer of the United States, the European Community, taking 30 percent of U.S. exports, has been leading the band. America has had a steadily growing trade surplus with the EC, which in 1992 stood at \$17 billion — by far the largest which it enjoys with any of its trading partners.

The second concern was to respond to the crowds of American businessmen who have been thronging the trade representative's office day and night. See here, Mr. Kantor, they will have been saying, you've got to stick up for the U.S. of A. We've been suckers. Here we are with the most open market in the world and we just can't get into foreign markets. We've got to have a level playing field, and if these foreigners don't give it to us, we've got to stick it to them.

Seductive as it is, this is an illusion. Every year the European Commission publishes a list of barriers faced by Europeans wishing to trade with the United States. The last report (1992) covers 96 closely printed pages — enumerating tariffs up to nearly 40 percent. Buy American preferences for American products, the Jones Act, which restricts trade between American ports to American vessels, and quotas that double the price of sugar for American consumers and limit imports per American to a pound of dairy cheese a year.

Whether or not America is going protectionist, there is something to be said for not passing an instant judgment. Mickey Kantor, the new U.S. trade representative, has clearly sought to do two things in his initial statements, both directed to domestic objectives. The first was to stake out turf.

The idea that American exports hit a brick wall in foreign markets is also an illusion. They encounter restrictions now and again, just as foreign

exporters come up against restrictions in the United States. But U.S. merchandise exports to the world rose by 30 percent between 1988 and 1991.

And as a customer of the United States, the European Community, taking 30 percent of U.S. exports, has been leading the band. America has had a steadily growing trade surplus with the EC, which in 1992 stood at \$17 billion — by far the largest which it enjoys with any of its trading partners.

This is very difficult to bring home to a Congress which forced on the last administration powers to retaliate against foreigners if unilateral American demands were not met. And here is the rub. This administration has not — yet, at any rate — decided to go protectionist. But it has not the same commitment to the one-world trading system that previous American administrations have had since 1947, nor the same interest in the outside world.

It's concentration on domestic problems may be both heroic and timely, but this leaves little attention to the massive retaliation against American exports that could follow unilateral action against trading partners or to the wrecking not just of the Uruguay Round but of the prospects for world trade that would follow reopening of the agricultural package.

And when it comes to push and shove on any of these issues with Congress during the next year, the president might want to save his chips for the struggle on domestic legislation. That way a nuclear trade war could start by accident.

The writer, now a consultant in Brussels, is a former head of the EC Commission's delegation in Washington. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

Slippery Politics Is a Dangerous Game for Clinton

By David S. Broder

omic program to passage if voters decide afterward that they were misled about what it would do.

Doubts about his reliability plagued Mr. Clinton all through the campaign year and caused him to wind up with the lowest share of the popular vote of any winner since Richard Nixon, 24 years earlier.

Now people are discovering that Mr. Clinton really played fast and loose with the facts in last year's campaign. When reporters challenged the assumptions and the internal mathematics of his campaign-season economic plan, "Putting People First," the Democratic nominee brushed off the questions. When Republicans said he was being deceptive, he issued indignant denials that ring hollow today.

Last Oct. 1, for example, when the Bush campaign ran ads based on the calculation that Mr. Clinton could finance his campaign promises only by raising taxes on every family earning more than \$36,600 a year, this is what the Democratic nominee said:

"It is blatantly false ... It is a disgrace to the American people that the president of the United States would make a claim that is so baseless, that is so without foundation, so shameless in its attempt to get votes under false pretenses."

Last week President Clinton, embarrassed, put forward a revised program requiring tax increases that the administration says will affect most families making more than \$30,000, one-sixth below the threshold George Bush had forecast. Mr. Clinton claims that he has been forced to these steps by the unexpected size of the deficit he inherited. But last July he told Business Week that the deficits would approach \$400 billion.

The more serious problem is that the new economic plan, "A Vision of Change for America," looks almost as jury-built as the campaign document it replaced. The administration's \$30,000 threshold, for example, is not what most people understand as income, or even the Form 1040's familiar adjusted gross income line. It is a figure concocted to include all kinds of "noncash income," including fringe benefits and even the imputed rental value of the family home. As administration officials have conceded, the higher tax bites actually begin at a figure closer to \$20,000 than to \$30,000.

These artifices were carefully concealed in Mr. Clinton's State of the Union address, helping him to gain a favorable first public reaction. Assured salesmanship has so far sustained that image of evenhandedness.

The more that is learned about the plan, the less solid it looks. As much as \$54 billion of claimed spending reductions are actually increases in taxes or fees. More important, major cost-cutting moves are of dubious value.

The plan calls for more than \$38 billion in Medicare savings over the next four years, not through any reforms but simply by cutting government payments to hospitals and doctors. In the past, when Republican administrations have proposed such "savings," Democrats have objected, properly, that hospitals and doctors would be forced to shift those costs to private patients and to raise their rates to make up for the loss.

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The writer is director of the International Trade

OPINION

A Serious United Nations Means Serious Members

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — One day when the United Nations was young, a British delegate delivered a warning: This place is going to choke to death with new members.

Take care, he said, or instead of the 50-odd countries we have now we will wind up with 75, maybe even 80. The United Nations now has 180 members and will grow.

If some numerical lid had been put on, Indonesia and Japan would not be members, nor Morocco or the Baltics, Germany, Korea, Spain, Ukraine and scores of other nations without which the United Nations would be politically emaciated.

The problem is not numbers, but something far more important. It can lead not just to crowded chambers but to war among and within

nations, famine and massacre — and has. The plain truth, never said out loud at the United Nations, is that countries have been admitted that cannot or will not take on the minimum responsibilities that they owe to the international community and to their own people.

The very act of independence can make countries dependents of

the first day they depend on other nations to rescue them. Bosnia.

Other Bosnias are in the making. In what was once the Soviet Union, countries are entering nationhood in a state of civil or border war — headed for the UN agenda.

It is a mantra now that at least under communism and the czars there were no ethnic wars. Sure: The cover was kept on so tight that what was festering beneath was not seen or smelled. The sorrows of the former Soviet nations are the heritage of Communist destruction of the economy, and of czarist and Communist colonialism that swallowed whole nations alive.

In Africa and Asia, nations were

carved out to suit Western colonialism. European administrators drew frontiers that thousands of miles away fragmented people of the same language, clan, economy and history.

In a jungle in New Guinea, then Dutch-ruled, I once stumbled along a narrow muddy path. On this side, a Dutch missionary told me solemnly, lived people officially counted as Protestant, on the other as Roman Catholic.

And at the United Nations are scores of countries whose governments never had the slightest intention of carrying out the most important obligation of membership — to treat their own citizens with decency, otherwise known as human rights. From the moment of

their creation they have been ruled by tyrannies.

The tyrants rule by fiat and terror and their membership makes cynical hypocrisy of the goal stated in the UN Charter they signed: "To reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human being, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."

To deal even glancingly with new members unprepared for membership and old members that are in daily violation of the charter, the United Nations is turning itself into something it was never supposed to be. It has become a fire brigade frantically rushing around with a few buckets to put out blazes already out of control.

One day the United Nations will have to change its charter and set up trusteeships for nations bankrupt politically or economically. That will take years, maybe decades, to work out.

Meanwhile the United Nations could save the world a great deal of grief if it used its rights of accreditation to create a flexible waiting period between application for membership and acceptance.

If a test is required to drive a car, why not one to drive a nation? During the waiting period, a nation-applicant would have to show that it is equipped to carry out the minimum responsibilities of membership. They are: a functioning government, the machinery and will to live up to UN declarations about peace and human rights, and some prayer of economic sufficiency.

A country that did not pass at once would get provisional membership, without a vote. Full membership would be earned by carrying out, with international help, specific plans for its own survival. Maybe then the fire brigade could get a little rest between alarms.

The New York Times

America Should Lead in Recasting the UN Role

By Arthur Macy Cox

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration needs to formulate a new strategy for the U.S. role in international security.

The end of the Cold War has created a power vacuum filled by territorial disputes, civil wars, ethnic conflicts and tribal struggles. Since the United States has no desire to serve as policeman of these conflicts, there is a compelling need for collective international action through the United Nations.

But the United States must take the lead to ensure that the UN Security Council has the necessary muscle to enforce its decisions. The importance of the peacekeeping operations in the former Yugoslavia dramatizes the requirement for a UN enforcement capability.

For the Security Council to have the power essential to enforce its decisions, there must be an earmarked military force. This will require a commitment for a significant contribution of forces from the United States, the most powerful member. Action authorized by the Security Council should become an important part of the fabric of U.S. security.

The UN Charter provided for creation of an enforcement mechanism to carry out collective measures approved by the Security Council. But the Cold War blocked it because the Soviet Union always opposed such actions. In the United Nations' 47-year history, only three enforcement operations were conducted under the Security Council's authority.

In the 1950-52 Korean War, the United Nations provided a thin cover of multilateralism for U.S. military action. That was possible because the Soviet representative had walked out of the Security

Council and was not present to cast the veto.

When Belgium decided to withdraw its colonial government in Congo in 1960, the Security Council authorized a peacekeeping force to maintain order during the transition. Again, this was approved because the Soviet representative had walked out. The operation, under UN command, lasted almost four years and involved 93,000 soldiers from 34 nations.

The only other major military enforcement operation was Operation Desert Storm in 1991, which forced Iraq to leave Kuwait. The United States provided the command and most of the troops. There was no problem of a Russian veto. In fact, since the end of the Cold War, Russia has become a strong proponent of strengthening the UN security role.

Through the years, the United Nations has also engaged in more than 20 non-enforcement, or "peacekeeping" operations.

Most have made important contributions to peacekeeping, but they have always had a perilous fragility, because the United Nations is not adequately staffed to manage them, has insufficient financial support and has no authority for enforcement.

The UN Charter calls for the creation of a standby army comprising forces earmarked for UN service by member nations. The United Nations could become a potent deterrent to aggression if such a force existed.

The situation in the Balkans, Cambodia and Angola would be far different if there had been such a force. U.S. intervention in Somalia

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

A Nuclear Mideast

Shai Feldman, in "Remove and Store the Warheads, and Do It Now" (Opinion, Jan. 23-24), rightly calls attention to the danger posed by the nuclear missiles and warheads that remain scattered around the former Soviet republics. But he is wrong when he says, "None of the nuclear powers currently has any serious enemies." Israel, of course, is a nuclear power that does have serious enemies.

Israel's nuclear capability is at the heart of the most frightening proliferation scenario facing the world in the waning years of the 20th century. Desperately poor former Soviet republics have the weapons, numerous Middle Eastern powers have the money, and the threat of Israel's bomb provides a prime motivation for a deal.

We must indeed "remove and store the warheads, and do it now," as Mr. Feldman suggests, and that includes those of Israel. Otherwise, we face the virtual certainty of a nuclearized Arab-Israeli conflict in the near future.

STEPHEN GREEN.

Rome.

Keep It Personal

Regarding "Saddam Is Thus Purised" (Editorial, Jan. 15):

The editorial says that "America's dispute with Baghdad is not personal." Why delude ourselves? Isn't this just what Saddam wants people to believe?

When it comes to dealing with bullies, action "in personam" works. This might have been learned from the success of operations against Moammar Gadhafi, the dictators of Grenada, and Manuel Noriega. One man, not a people, should be held accountable for a dictator's crimes. That may be a lesson in Bosnia, too.

MARINA WELLS.

Seoul.

Stranded? Hardly

Regarding "Serbia Is a Nation in Dangerous Hands" (Opinion, Feb. 9) by Blaine Harden:

To write that Romanians are "stranded" in Moldova, implying that they are a minority there, belies the fact that ethnic Romanians form the majority of Moldova's population. According to recent statistics, the ethnic composition of the Moldovan population is approximately 64.5 percent Romanian, 14 percent Ukrainian, 12.5 percent Russian, 3.5 percent Gagauz, 2 percent Jewish and 3.5 percent other nationalities.

JEFFREY A. PENNINGTON.

Debrecen, Hungary.

Sexist Tightwad

Regarding "Tips for All Those Whiners From a Complete Tightwad" (Mearwhile, Feb. 18):

I deplore today's materialism every bit as much as the writer, Amy

Bucyrcyn. But the solution she proposes offers only a superficial remedy, one ultimately more damaging than helpful, as long as she fails to confront the issue of sexism.

Her program, as illustrated by her lifestyle, essentially reinforces the dogma that the man should work outside the home and the woman sacrifice her career to stay home, keep house and raise children.

GEORGE SCACHE.

Manila.

The Debate Goes On

Regarding "Looking at Germany: An Ongoing Debate" (Letters, Jan. 29):

After attacking the entire German nation because he was caught, as was his son, in rather minor violations, Michael Peterson now responds to numerous letters from around the world criticizing his absurd claims by calling them a personal attack, after he began by attacking the nation as a whole based solely upon his unwillingness to accept responsibility for his behavior.

J.T. BOHMAN.

Switzerland.

The Software Race

After struggling to translate the files of my ancient Apple IIc computer for transfer to my new high-tech Apple IIi, I read "Thoreau's New Book" (Forword, Feb. 17).

"The manuscript and a wooden pencil have been known but they have lain dormant for more than a half-century," the article reports, before B. P. Dean put it all together and edited "Faith in a Seed."

My Apple IIc has six year's work on it, but translating that work to the new model is a challenge even for the experts. What will happen to the work of the Thoreaus of today when editors are trying to decipher their '90s software 50 years from now?

JEANETTE F. HUBER.

Kinsale, Ireland.

Herald Tribune

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Belgium 03-200-12	American Republic 800-751-6624	Hungary 00-800-0411	Luxembourg 0800-0112	Sweden 020-781-0222
Bolivia 03-000-2222	Europe 170	India* 00-91-555-001	Monaco 19-01-19	Switzerland 155-0222
Brazil 00-802	Egypt 355-5770	Ireland 1-91-555-001	Netherlands 06-12-01-22	Turkey 95-800-1177
Chile 00-0316	Finland 9800-102-80	Israel 177-150-2227	New Zealand 03-12912	United Kingdom 0800-89-0222
Colombia 980-16-0001	19-00-19	Italy 172-1022	Peru 00-190	Uruguay 000-400-412
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Media Litigation Is a Scourge

By Carole Gorney

BETHLEHEM, Pennsylvania — Litigation blackmail is being committed in the United States every day, aided and abetted by journalists, lawyers and public-relations consultants.

In a practice euphemistically called litigation journalism, lawyers are hiring public-relations

dead woman's room. The suit was settled out of court.

A Florida widow, claiming that her husband died from a brain tumor caused by her cellular telephone, argued his case on CNN's "Larry King Live."

Never mind that cellular phone company stock dropped the next day and that the industry was in most ways atypical. The drama may have been doctored by tiny rockets attached to the truck, but at least the video did not appear before the trial began and it is difficult to assess what impact it may have had on the jury decision.

But more valid examples of litigation journalism are numerous.

In Freehold, New Jersey, in 1988, parents sued a hospital for

negligence, claiming their child suffered brain damage during surgery. Shortly after the suit was filed, a photo of the child undergoing therapy appeared on the front page of the regional newspaper along with details of the story. The story was picked up by a New York City TV station, whose coverage included interviews with the parents.

Defendants in civil litigation are at a disadvantage when making pretrial comments to the press.

Anything they say can and will be used against them.

Those who use the First Amendment to defend litigation journalism should remember the

ethical requirements of fairness, balance and responsible reporting.

Calling defendants for a statement is not enough to ensure fairness, nor is that a relevant point.

Legal arguments are intended to be made before impartial judges and juries. It is not the function of the press, or of those who disseminate news and information on the fringes of the media, like talk shows, to allow the merits of cases to be argued or promoted outside the process.

More often than not, the plaintiff's basic motive is not to ensure justice or aid public understanding but to secure financial reward.

What can be done?

Certainly the press should not and cannot be prohibited from reporting on civil suits.

But this is quite different from letting plaintiffs have unchallenged air time and newspaper space to personalize their cases. Bar associations should require members to follow the rules of evidence set by law, not the press.

Public-relations consultants should be held accountable by their professional associations for participating in litigation journalism.

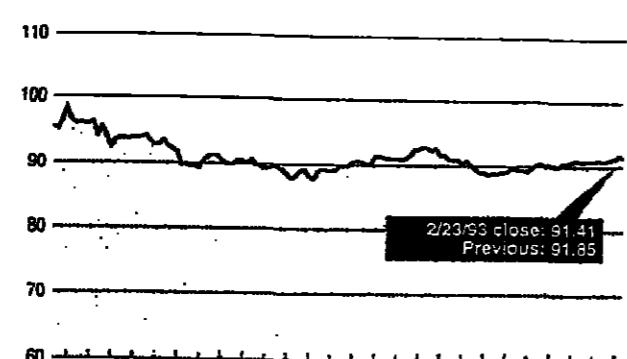
The practice counters the association's codes of ethical standards requiring consultants to avoid corrupting the channels of communication and processes of government.

**



THE TRIB INDEX: 91.41
(DOWN 0.48%)

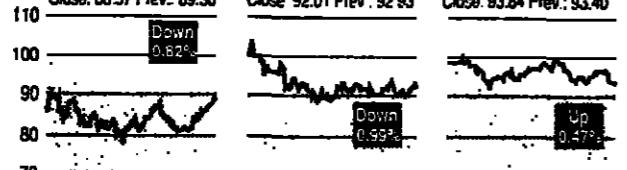
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Asia/Pacific Europe N. America

Approx. weighing 25% Approx. weighing 40% Approx. weighing 35%



Close: 88.57 Prev. 89.30 Close: 92.01 Prev. 92.93 Close: 93.84 Prev. 93.40

Down 0.52% Down 0.92% Up 0.57%

S O N D J F S O N D J F S O N D J F

1992 1992 1993

Worldwide

Industrial Sectors

	Prev. close	Prev. change	% change
Energy	96.85	97.22	-0.36%
Utilities	90.31	90.79	-0.53%
Finance	87.72	88.35	-0.71%
Services	103.38	104.04	-0.62%

For readers desiring more information about the International Herald Tribune World Stock Index, a booklet is available free of charge by writing to TRIB Index, 181 Avenue Charles de Gaulle, 92221 Neuilly Cedex, France.

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MEDIA MARKETS

Texas Monthly Thrives As Other Regionals Fold

By Sam Howe Verhovek
New York Times Service

AUSTIN, Texas — When the state's economy took a dive in the 1980s, Texas Monthly was right there with a feature, "Life Styles of the Rich and Bankrupt (How Texans Go Bust Without Going Broke)." But it was not as if the magazine only cares about politics and finance. "Hats Off to Big Hair! A Tribute to a Texas Classic" was a recent cover story.

But if one cover symbolizes why Texas Monthly has survived as so many other regional magazines collapsed in recent years, it might be this month's, on an issue that celebrates the magazine's 20th anniversary. A globe swirls through the universe with a single, large land mass on it — the state of Texas. The magazine has endured in part because its founder and publisher, Michael R. Levy, insisted on a single focus — a consuming, if not exactly reverent, interest in all things Texas. And many of its employees and readers cite a broader reason behind its commercial success — the way Texans view themselves.

There is a difference between a Texan and a New Englander," said Joseph Nocera, who has written for both Texas Monthly and New England Monthly, which is now defunct. "A person in Massachusetts does not define himself first and foremost as a New Englander, whereas a person who lives in Dallas or San Antonio or Amarillo is very likely to define himself predominantly as a Texan. That is something very important."

The regional magazine market has claimed victims across the United States in recent years, from California magazine to New England Monthly, to Rocky Mountain, Southern and others in between. But Texas Monthly, with a circulation of 309,000 and advertising revenue that approached \$18 million last year (up 6.5 percent from 1991), is very much alive.

State and regional magazines "are usually a disaster," said Martin S. Walker, chairman of a Manhattan-based magazine consulting firm. "Advertisers generally don't target states. They target major metropolitan market areas."

But Texas Monthly has managed both to tap into and to feed Texas's perception of itself as a place apart, kind of like the Quebec of America," said Lawrence Wright, a former writer for the magazine.

"Texas is like a sub-nation," said Mr. Wright, who recently left to See TEXAS, Page 11

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CURRENCY & INTEREST RATES

Cross Rates

Feb. 23

1 Amsterdam 2.65 1.157 2.58 1.073 1.294 1.259 1.081

Frankfurt 1.429 1.280 0.840 0.884 1.089 1.154 1.281

London (d) 1.259 2.589 2.020 2.084 2.156 2.156 2.156

Madrid 1.103 17.124 17.208 17.07 17.123 17.123 17.123

Milan 1.371 1.252 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.129 1.127

New York (d) 1.253 1.253 1.253 1.253 1.253 1.253 1.253

Tokyo 1.16 10.01 10.01 10.01 10.01 10.01 10.01

Turks & Caicos 1.255 2.587 2.020 2.084 2.156 2.156 2.156

Zurich 1.257 1.252 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.129 1.127

1 day 1.257 0.894 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

2 day 1.255 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

3 day 1.254 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

4 day 1.253 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

5 day 1.252 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

6 day 1.251 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

7 day 1.250 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.898 0.897

Crosses in Amsterdam, London, New York and Zurich. Ratings in other centers: Toronto rates of 2 days.

To buy one pound: £1. Units of 100; NLG: not quoted; N/A: not available.

Other Dollar Values

Per \$

1. Amsterdam 0.9971 1.250 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.127

1. Frankfurt 1.4272 1.280 2.020 2.084 2.156 2.156

1. London (d) 1.2591 2.589 2.020 2.084 2.156 2.156

1. Madrid 1.1031 1.252 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.129

1. Milan 1.3711 1.252 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.129

1. New York (d) 1.2531 1.253 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.127

1. Tokyo 1.1611 1.252 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.129

1. Turks & Caicos 1.2551 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.897

1. Zurich 1.2571 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.897

Forward Rates

20-day 90-day

1. Amsterdam 1.4444 1.427 1.071 1.071 1.125 1.124

1. Frankfurt 1.4364 1.438 1.051 1.051 1.113 1.114

1. London (d) 1.2569 1.257 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.127

1. Madrid 1.3009 1.3037 1.054 1.054 1.129 1.127

1. New York (d) 1.2581 1.258 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.127

1. Tokyo 1.1621 1.254 1.025 1.049 1.129 1.127

1. Turks & Caicos 1.2561 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.897

1. Zurich 1.2581 0.895 0.897 0.897 0.898 0.897

Source: ING Bank (Amsterdam); ING Bank (Brussels); Bank of Tokyo (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); IMF (SDR). Other data from Reuters and AP.

High Yen: Much Pain, Little Gain

By David E. Sanger
New York Times Service

TOKYO — The last time cries of *enrada* — the yen is surging — reverberated here, Japan's economy was booming and the United States was searching for a quick way of reducing its vast trade deficits with Tokyo. The monetary solution helped a little, but only temporarily.

Now the trade surpluses have roared back, largely because Japan's economic slowdown has squeezed the consumption of American goods to a trickle. And once again, Japanese leaders are hoping that a powerful yen will buy them brief political peace in Washington, lowering the trade deficit and with it the pressure for protectionism. But this time it may have an enormous cost: All day Tuesday, Japanese business leaders harried the government with warnings that the yen's extraordinary run-up in recent days would bring new rounds of layoffs and bankruptcies, and make a bad economy worse.

Few seem to believe that the main objective of strengthening the yen — reducing Japan's trade surpluses by making Japanese goods more expensive in America — will be accomplished. The 6 percent increase in the value of the yen, they say, will at best

knock a few billion dollars off Japan's \$47 billion trade surplus, with the United States, maybe a bit more if the yen strengthens more from its current level of near 116 to the dollar, already a poor record.

"The critical issue is what it will do to the Japanese economy," said Minoru Makihara, president of Mitsubishi Corp., the company at the pinnacle of Japan's largest industrial group. "I'm afraid that there may not be

much of a political benefit, and it will cause a lot of pain."

Japanese executives said Tuesday, however, that if the strong yen did cut into foreign sales, it may finally force the government of Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa to adopt a large-scale plan to stimulate the economy,

Meantime, the costs to the economy are rising.

In an interview recently, Japan's foreign minister, Michio Watanabe, estimated that upwards of one million Japanese workers were severely underemployed now, even though they have not been dismissed by their companies.

Under such conditions, company officials claim, the 6 percent increase in the value of the yen could strike a major blow. It could make the exporting of many products unprofitable.

"We are at the point where the more we export, the more we lose money," a senior officer of Hitachi Ltd. said Tuesday. "A few years ago the answer to that problem was to build a factory in America. But now, no one wants to spend the money to build factories."

In fact, this time the fallout from the strengthened yen, if it lasts, will likely be very different from the last onset of *enrada*. In 1985, when 240 yen bought one dollar, monetary officials gathered.

Executives who usually shy

away from criticizing the government are calling reporters these days to blame Mr. Miyazawa for failing to articulate an economic strategy, failing to react to economic events rather than shaping them.

Meanwhile, the costs to the economy are rising.

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MARKET DIARY

Selling Hits Stocks Despite Bonds' Rise

Bloomberg Business News

NEW YORK — U.S. stocks fell Tuesday on concern about an economic report that said consumer confidence was slipping, and on persistent uncertainty about the effect of President Bill Clinton's deficit-cutting plan.

But these same kinds of doubts about the economic recovery spurred the bond market into a

news we've seen in quite a while," said Thom Brown, managing director at Rutherford, Brown & Califano Inc.

The big drop in bond yields was triggered by reports that Mr. Clinton wanted more spending cuts to reduce the federal budget deficit. Treasury yields also declined on reports that Alan Greenspan, in testimony before the House Banking Committee, said it was too soon to say the economic recovery was self-sustaining. The Federal Reserve chairman's comments triggered speculation that the central bank might move to lower interest rates further.

Concern that higher income taxes may crimp consumer spending caused retail stocks to fall. Wal-Mart Stores Inc. declined 5% to \$59.50 and Dayton-Hudson slumped 1% to \$78. May Department Stores Co. fell 1% to \$58 even though the retailer boosted its dividend, reported strong earnings, and declared a two-for-one stock split.

Nordstrom Inc. declined 5% to \$32.60. The retailer told analysts that financial 1994 earnings estimates of \$2 a share were too high.

Speculation that the Clinton administration may propose excise taxes to help finance health-care reform pushed Philip Morris Cos. down another 1% to \$63. The blue-chip tobacco stock is down 22 percent since Dec. 4.

The decline in stocks occurred after the Conference Board said its measure of consumer confidence dropped to 68.5 in February, from 76.7 in January, as optimism about the economic recovery waned.

The drop in consumer confidence is the first bad economic

news of the year for the stock market.

The Dow Jones industrial average fell 19.72 points to close at 3,323.27 as a heavy 305.2 million shares traded on the New York Stock Exchange. Declining issues beat out advancing ones by a narrow margin.

The decline in stocks occurred after the Conference Board said its measure of consumer confidence dropped to 68.5 in February, from 76.7 in January, as optimism about the economic recovery waned.

The drop in consumer confidence is the first bad economic

Yen's Surge Sputters Ahead of G-7 Meeting

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — The dollar rebounded from record lows against the yen Tuesday as investors turned skittish about driving the U.S. currency further down ahead of this weekend's Group of Seven meeting, traders said.

The dollar strengthened to 117.10 yen from 116.26 yen on

Monday and closed at 1.6235

Deutsche marks, little changed from 1.6246 DM.

The yen had soared since Friday on rumors that the world's leading industrial nations wanted to see the currency strengthen significantly to make Japanese exports more expensive and to cut Tokyo's large trade surplus.

The dollar suffered more after Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan said economic growth probably would slow in the first quarter.

The dollar was quoted at 5.51 French francs, virtually unchanged from Monday, and at 1.4980 Swiss francs, up slightly from 1.4970 francs. The pound stood at \$1.4530, off from \$1.4570.

(Bloomberg, Reuters)

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branches, booking offices and other ¹
support. 3. What Unisys does for ^{g..}
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EDGE, BUSINESS-CRITICAL SOLUTIONS, ²⁸
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Kuwait

Two Years After Liberation



The National Assembly.

Two years after liberation, more and more Kuwaitis see the current period as a new dawn in their country's history. The economy is picking up again. Oil production, at 2 million barrels a day this month, has exceeded expectations. Free elections have been held. And the National Assembly is leading the way toward greater democracy in the Gulf.

Positive Signs After the Storm

Though signs of a new dawn are numerous, Kuwait is still agonizing over the more than 600 prisoners of war and missing persons held in Iraq, and the local economy is in limbo until the debt settlement program is fully implemented.

The population is stabilizing at around 1.4 million, of which slightly less than half are Kuwaiti nationals. The oil sector, which has been given priority, is in good shape, and Nasser Abdulla Al-Rodham, minister of finance, has forecast revenues of \$9.2 billion for 1993-94. He has announced a budget deficit of \$6.2 billion for 1992-93 compared to \$17.5 billion in 1991-92. He also says that the government is to cut spending by 10 percent. Yet the realization that Kuwait will never be the same as it was before the 1990 invasion has finally sunk in.

Grandiose plans for infrastructure development that were proposed immediately after the Feb. 26 liberation have now been scaled down and in many cases abandoned altogether. Public works expenditure has been cut back following pressure from the National Assembly.

Major expenditures are being made only in the oil and defense sectors, totaling about \$30 billion in the next two to three years. The strategy at the moment is to get everything back together again and to improve on existing facilities — water, sewerage, power, education, health, transportation and telecommunications — that can easily meet the needs of current residents. About 700,000 of them are Asians from the sub-continent, Filipinos, Indonesians, Koreans, a smattering of Palestinians and Jordanians and an increasing number of Iranians. There are also between 25,000 and 50,000 "Bedu," or stateless persons, who have no official papers.

By far the most positive development has been the role of the National Assembly and its 50 deputies. They have become the people's watchdogs and are demanding accountability across the board. There is a new cabinet, all but six of whose 15 ministers are from the ruling Al-Sabah family, but the ministers regularly come under fire during assembly sessions and are asked searching questions irrespective of their status. Confrontation is on the surface, however, and not so deep-seated as in the past, when criticism of the ruling family led to the dissolving of the assembly in 1986.

This time, the Al-Sabahs have fulfilled the promises for greater democracy they made at the Taif conference just before the liberation. "There is no question of going back on their word," says Sheikh Saad Nasser Al-Sabah, the minister of information. "Parliament has been of tremendous benefit. It is also a tremendous relief for the government to share its responsibilities. We are still on a 'trial and error' basis, and we face major issues ahead — citizenship, enlarging the franchise, and, of course, the economic situation. Some people are still a little skeptical about the assembly, but I don't think they should be."

Jasam K. Al-Sadoun, general manager of Alshali Economic Consultants, a staunch critic of previous governments and now an advisor to the National Finance Committee, comments: "The con-

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A new dawn for young Kuwaitis.

INSIDE

Economy on Road to Recovery

Although Kuwait can look forward to a considerably reduced budget deficit this year and next, the economic problems ahead continue to demand the concentrated attention of ministers, the parliament and private businessmen and investors.

With spending on defense, security and the repair of oil production and refining facilities taking priority, reconstruction in other sectors has slowed. Plans to reduce public expenditure and push forward a program of privatizations could, however, help restore government finances over the medium term.

Another smaller budget deficit is forecast. In 1991-92, the first full fiscal year after the end of the Iraqi occupation, the government recorded a deficit of \$17.5 billion according to the Ministry of Finance and Planning, primarily because of the costs of emergency reconstruction and the payment of compensation to Kuwaitis. Other substantial outlays included the contributions to the country's wartime allies.

During the current financial year ending June 30, the deficit is expected to fall to \$6.6 billion, largely because the country is now producing up to 2 million barrels of oil a day. This figure still represents some 35 percent of gross

domestic product and 30 percent of the government's net financial assets, according to diplomatic sources in the country.

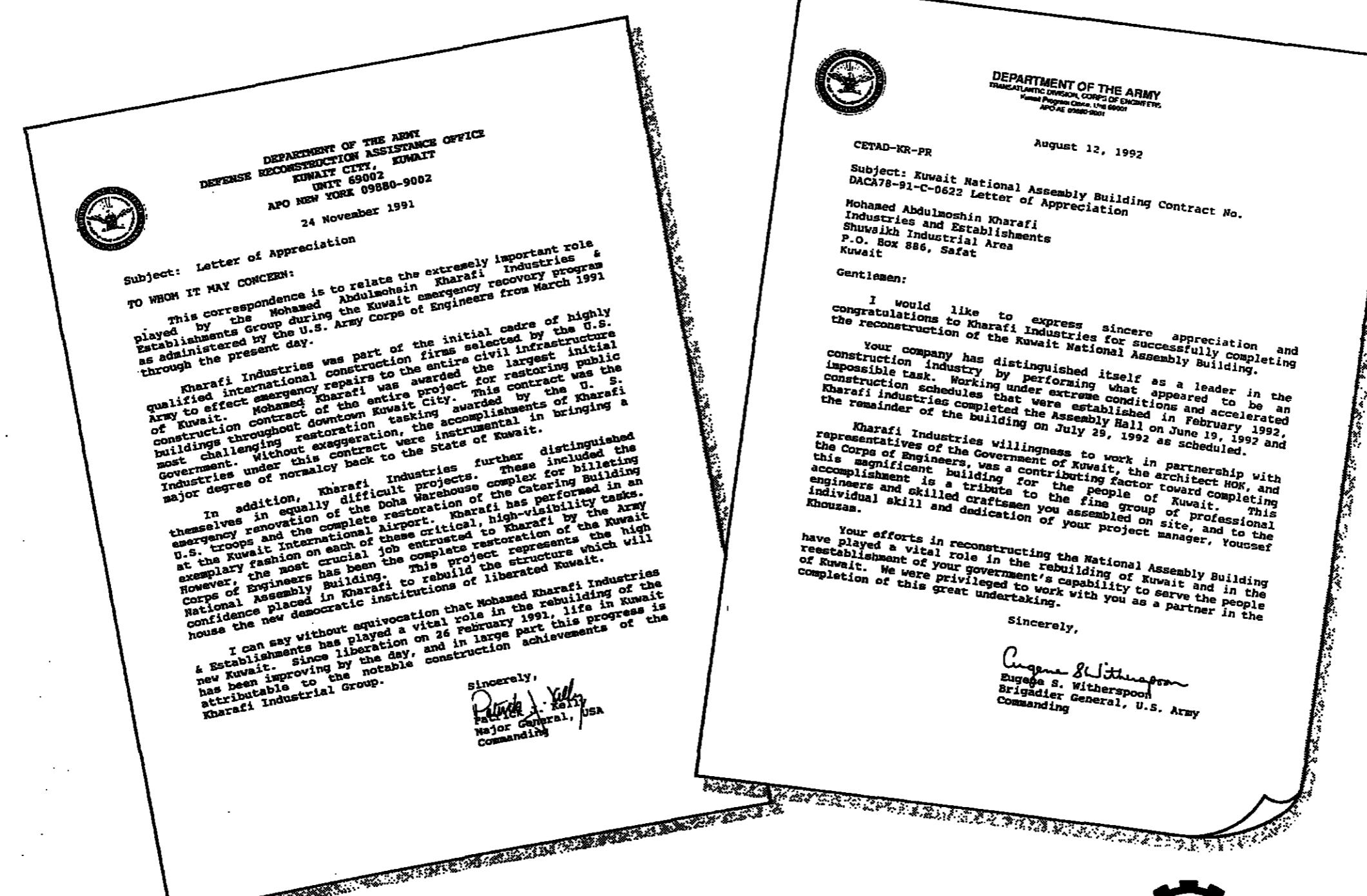
While some of the gap may be financed by further drawings from Kuwait's estimated \$25 billion to \$35 billion in investments abroad, cuts in public expenditure are taking priority.

Initial plans for the next budget, set to begin in July, call for spending of between \$11.5 billion and \$12.2 billion, according to finance ministry officials. This compares with expenditure in 1992-93 of \$13.2 million. While no details have been announced, some observers expect targets for cuts to include government subsidies on utilities such as electricity and the country's generous health-care program.

On the other side of the ledger, government revenues in 1993-94 are expected to rise to \$9.2 billion, up from \$6.6 billion this year. This leaves a projected budget deficit in 1993-94 of only about \$3.3 billion, the officials added.

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THE RESOURCES TO RESPOND



Established over 100 years ago, M.A. Kharafi is a private Kuwait-based organization with diversified interests and activities worldwide. During the Iraqi occupation, Kharafi continued all its activities outside Kuwait, and immediately after liberation, rapidly remobilized and returned to Kuwait to work side by side with contractors from allied countries. Today Kharafi has regained its former size and status as a Grade A International Contractor, whilst its factories, agencies, commercial, investment and international trade and barter divisions are all fully operational, meeting today's new challenges and opportunities.

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Parliament Focuses on Financial Affairs

One of the first priorities for Kuwait's new parliament, elected last October, has been to review the government's foreign investments. Amid intense publicity surrounding the reportedly huge losses incurred by the Kuwait Investment Office (KIO) in Spain, it has now passed a law to ensure more accountability in the country's financial affairs.

Prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990, widely published estimates valued the state's foreign assets — grouped into the Reserve Fund for

New law to watch over state transactions

Future Generations and the State General Reserve — at around \$100 billion. While no official figures have been published since, these are now thought by diplomats and analysts in the capital to have declined to be-

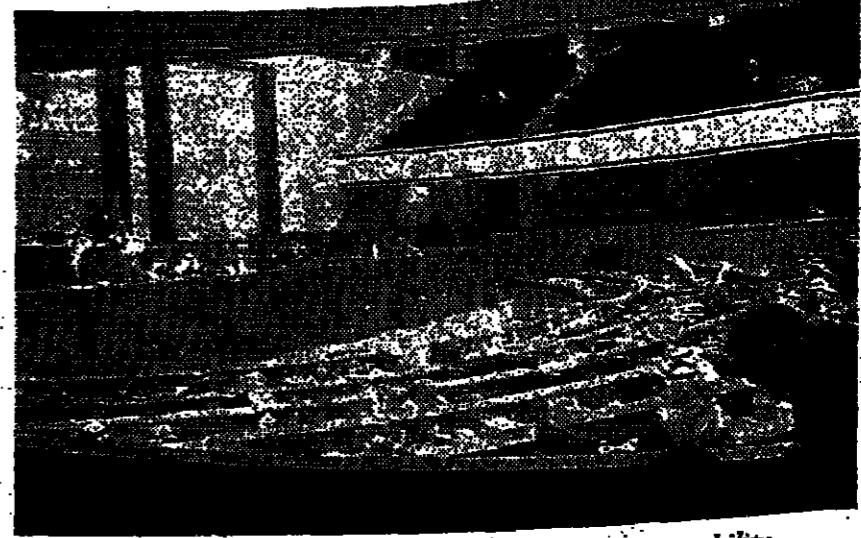
tween \$25 billion and \$35 billion. In the past few months, unconfirmed reports have continued to surface that the original valuation was far too high. Moreover, although a large portion of the reduction is attributable to state spending during the occupation and after the Gulf War, the Kuwait Investment Authority (KIA), the arm of the Ministry of Finance that oversees the government's assets, is also thought to have written off some \$15 billion in non-performing loans to Third World countries.

Some parliamentarians are concerned that if the Spanish example is anything to go by, some of the decline may be attributable to the misuse of funds. This concern lies behind the passage in January of the Public Funds Protection Law, providing for greater public scrutiny of transactions carried out by state agencies and for more transparency and accountability. Under its terms, the KIA and its London-based offshoot, the KIO, as well as companies having a 25 percent or more state shareholding, will be required to re-

port any transactions worth more than 100,000 Kuwaiti dinars (\$330,000) to the State Audit Bureau. The bureau in turn is obliged to report to parliament every six months. Those found guilty of misusing public funds could face imprisonment for a period of at least five years, and possibly life imprisonment.

Shortly before the legislation was passed, Crown Prince Sheikh Saad Al-Abdullah Al-Sabah promised to enforce such scrutiny rigorously. Those found to have engaged in fraud, he was reported as saying, "will pay the price for breaking the law. We support any measures to protect public money, and we will stand against anyone who violates the law."

In the meantime, the parliament has set up a committee to investigate the activities of yet another state body, the Kuwait Oil Tanker Company (KOTC). Some bankers are concerned that the proposed legisla-



A session of the National Assembly: demand for accountability.

tion might create some administrative difficulties and slow down financial business when quick decisions are needed to create market opportunities.

Private-sector businessmen are also worried that the law could discourage foreign investors from setting up joint ventures in the country.

Pamela Ann Smith

Road to Recovery

Continued from page 15

owned companies such as the Kuwait Petroleum Corporation (KPC), the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC) and the Kuwait National Petroleum Corporation (KNPC) are seeking to raise some of their financing needs through syndicated com-

Boost for petro-chemicals

mercial loans raised abroad. Other funds are being generated through local bond issues.

Domestically, the private sector is still reassessing its activities in view of the sharply reduced population of the country: from an estimated 2.2 million before the Iraqi occupation, it has fallen to about 1.3 million. This has cut heavily into retail demand and led to big declines in the turnover of some of Kuwait's main trading houses, even though offices, shops and warehouses have been repaired and restocked.

Local contractors, too, are suffering from the budget squeeze as the gov-

ernment postpones work on all but the most important infrastructure projects and social services. Some local companies such as Mohamed Abdul-mohsin Karafi, Burhan Kuwaiti Trading and Construction and the Ahmadiyan Contracting and Trading Company, however, are picking up important deals for roadbuilding and other public works.

Foreign concerns, such as Bechtel and Foster Wheeler of the United States, British Petroleum (BP), Australia's Noyes Engineering and South Korea's Daewoo Engineering Company, have won important awards for work in the oil sector. Others have bid for the project management contract, covering a three-year period, to be awarded shortly by KOC for design and engineering work — tasks allocated to Bechtel after the Gulf War. The Petrochemical Industries Company (PIC) is also going ahead with the construction of a huge ethylene complex, expected to cost up to \$1.3 billion, that will be open to a joint-venture partner.

Confidence in the fu-



Life returns to Kuwait's markets.

ture, however, will depend to a large extent on the degree to which the planned consolidation of the banking sector goes ahead and on reforms launched by the parliament aimed at overseeing Kuwait's foreign investment policy. While the National Bank of Kuwait (NBK) has recovered well from the invasion and is profitable, the five other

commercial banks and three other leading investment houses, the Kuwait Real Estate Bank and other financial institutions, have suffered losses and may be merged in one form or another. This in turn depends on the government's debt settlement program going ahead, but this is being questioned by the parliament.

Pamela Ann Smith

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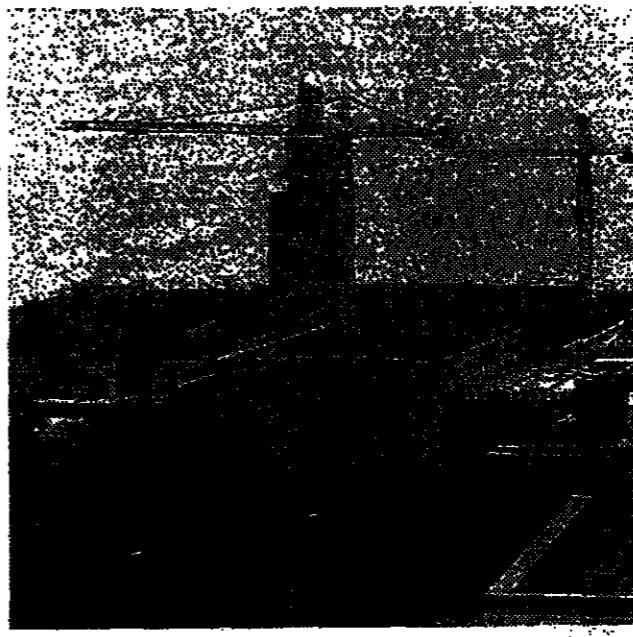
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Building Industry Calls for Better Planning

The pace of construction in Kuwait is beginning to pick up slowly but, apart from the oil and defense sectors, it is limited. Contracts worth more than \$700 million have so far been signed. One of the largest is for the \$266 million Amiri Diwan project on the corniche.

Local contractors like Kharafi want the government to be more open about its economic planning, especially since construction is one of the acknowledged barometers of



Reconstructing the Amiri Diwan.

economy activity. In Kuwait today, it is virtually at a standstill because of lack of decisions about which projects should, or should not, go ahead. "Nothing is very clear at present," comments Nasser Mohamed Kharafi, president of Kharafi, one of Kuwait's largest construction groups. Kharafi would like to get a bigger share of the local market that is currently going mainly to outside contractors. The company has won the \$102 million contract to build a new headquarters for the Ministry of Public Works and Ministry of Electricity and Water (MPW/MEW), as well as contracts for the Al Qurain housing scheme, a major sewer renovation project and work on the Ahmed Al Jaber air base. Kharafi was awarded about \$120 million

worth of remedial and renovation contracts in 1991-92 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.

Mr. Kharafi says that if it had not been for its extensive operations abroad, the company would have had a difficult time. These have included roads, water and sewerage projects in Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Botswana and, more recently, Albania. "We don't

in 1990 and was halted by the war."

The MEW has awarded nine contracts for projects that are now under way, including work on the Doha East and West power stations. Another 29 projects have been approved but are still in the planning stage. Most of these relate to water and power distribution networks, pumping stations and reservoirs. MPW has implemented more than 30 projects since the liberation. These include new buildings at Kuwait University, the reception hall at the airport, the eastern section of the sixth ring road and a \$100 million project involving closed-circuit television survey and repair of sewage networks.

Other major projects include the restoration of the huge Bayan Palace and its conference facilities, which were burned out by the Iraqis. The combined value of these two contracts is about \$120 million. The work is being done by Pan Arab Consulting Engineers, Saken Al-Marzouk, Sabah Abi Hamish and the Kuwait Engineers Office.

M.E.

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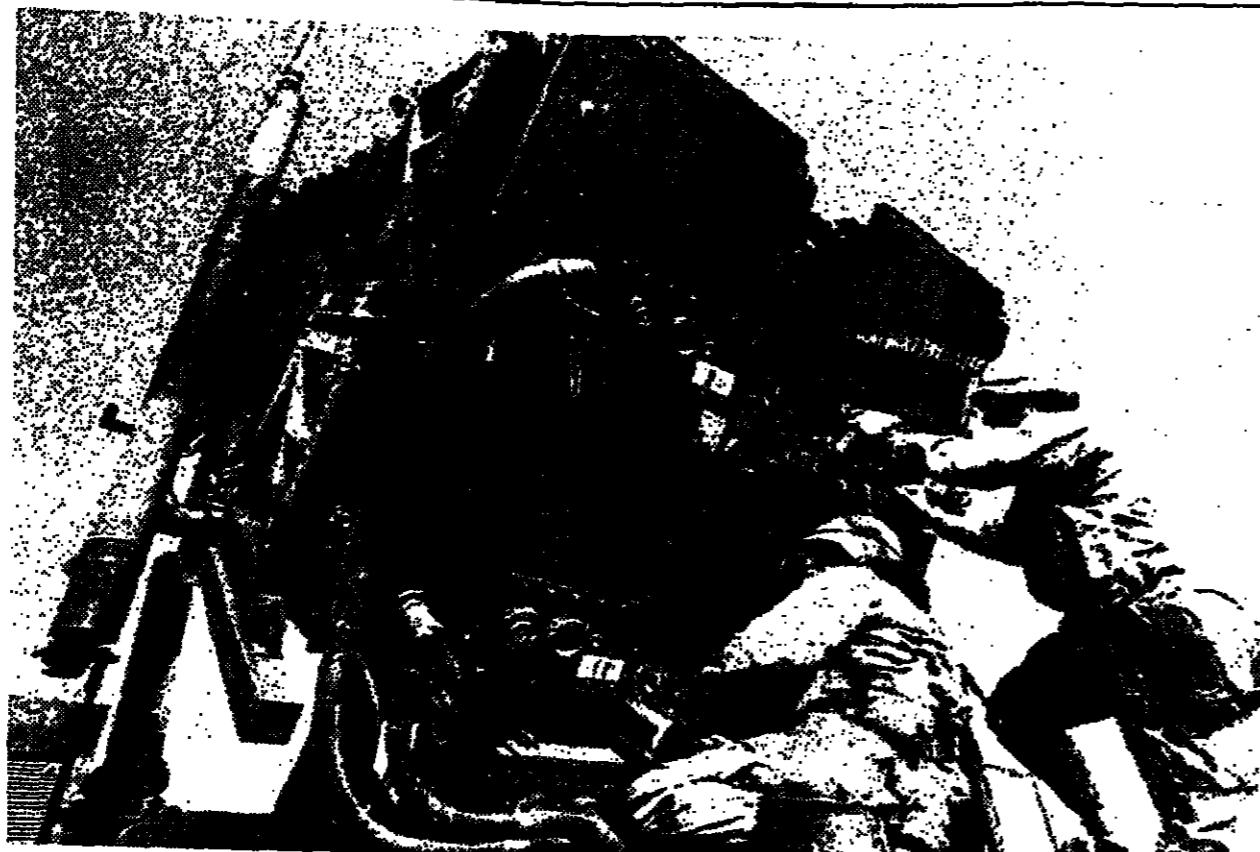


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مكتب الممثل



U.S. army troops set up a Patriot missile launcher in Kuwait (January 1993).

Positive Signs After the Storm

Continued from page 15

frontation element has been reduced because much more is agreed in cabinet before going to the assembly. There is a strong and positive reaction to problems, and the role of the assembly is very promising. The indirect effect on the government is also very strong indeed, and the Al-Sabahs have agreed to some senior government changes since the elections."

Draar Y. Alghamid, a leading businessman, agrees about the new role of parliament: "The assembly has given confidence to the nation both locally and internationally. There is now a 'joining of hands' between the government and the assembly to try to make things work for the future. We have to face the realities of life here, where we are living under considerable, and sometimes terrible, pressure from outside."

The specter of Saddam Hussein still hangs over Kuwait, sapping local investment confidence in spite of the strong defense alliance that Kuwait will enjoy for the next 10 years with the United States.

"You have to remember that Saddam is only 20 minutes' drive up the road from us," says another businessman. "We still cannot understand why he was allowed to survive." The flash-fire attacks in January, he says, were a

message to Hussein that "we can still reach you wherever you are."

Kuwait is already spending some \$14 billion on armaments but still looks to the United States and other Western countries for assistance should it be needed. It has what the minister of information describes as a "flexible arrangement" for security with the United States and other allies. He says that the United States has already done more than had been expected in the last few months as far as the protection of Kuwait's borders are concerned.

"There is no doubt that Kuwait can defend the integrity of its borders," adds the minister. But he regards the whole security issue as "an international responsibility."

Another important international issue is the return of the POWs and missing persons held in Iraqi prisons and detention centers. This is an emotional and disturbing issue for Kuwait. The government has mounted a massive international campaign to draw the world's attention to the plight of the more than 600 missing people.

The minister of information feels that the United Nations has not put enough weight behind the cease-fire agreement under which Iraq should have returned all prisoners. "We think there has been too much concentration on other matters with Iraq.

like destroying weapons of mass destruction, and the humanitarian issues have been passed over."

It is the economic situation, however, that dominates much of the parliamentary activity. Kuwait's investments through the Fund for Future Generations (10 percent of all oil revenues were automatically placed in the fund) have been dramatically reduced, from at least \$120 billion before the war to between \$25 billion and \$35 billion.

The publicity over the operations of the Kuwait Investment Office has not helped Kuwait's image. The National Assembly is still fighting over exactly how the banks should collect the bad debts from the Souk Al Manakh crash 10 years ago plus a new round of debts resulting from claims and losses following the invasion.

Sheikh Salem Abdulla Aziz Al-Sabah, governor of the Central Bank, hopes matters will be finally settled within the next two months. "What do we do with the debtors, how do we reschedule their obligations?" he asks. He threatened to resign earlier this year unless a decision was made.

Sheikh Salem is also putting pressure on some of the banks to manage their operations more efficiently so as to reduce the cost to the government.

strenthen the commercial banking system, and the possibility of foreign banks is under review. "This would be a good thing," he says.

He is also firmly behind the privatization policy (telecommunications will be the first major company to be publicly floated next year), which is expected to be a catalyst for more local investment activity.

Such matters are discussed at a weekly meeting between the government and representatives of the National Assembly. An official of the Kuwait Investment Authority, which is divesting itself of local investments as part of the privatization policy, says the KIA has already sold off 7 million Kuwaiti dinars (\$23 million) in 13 companies since last June.

There is no doubt that Kuwait is determined to get back on track as an oil producer and in the longer term as one of the economic powers among the Gulf states.

"I think by the summer many of our economic problems will have been worked out. We have to learn how to manage our deficit, which is about \$5 billion," says the economist Mr. Al-Sadoun, who is confident that the National Assembly will ensure that the government keeps its eye on the ball.

Michael Frenchman

Rebuilding and Expanding Health System

The oil boom enabled Kuwait to establish a health-care system on the basis of free care for all, but now the fall in oil revenues and the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion are prompting the government to review its health-care system.

Following independence in 1961, Kuwait's government developed initiatives designed to ensure that Kuwait would become a full welfare state in which both citizens and expatriates could enjoy completely free health care.

In the oil boom era from 1975 to 1985, usually referred to by Kuwaiti officials as "the period of fast expansion," there were plenty of funds for new hospitals, equipment and staff.

If citizens required health care not available in the emirate, the Ministry of Health would arrange for treatment abroad, with the state paying all the costs.

By the time of the Iraqi invasion and occupation, the system was already under strain. Its citizens had a life expectancy of 74, one of the longest in the world, but the oil price collapse of 1985-86 was taking its toll on the budget, and spending on health was down to \$850 million. This amounted to 6.75 percent of overall government spending — but only 2.5 percent of GNP, whereas the average for the world's developed countries at that time was 4.7 percent. And while Kuwait had almost

3,000 doctors, this meant there was only one doctor for about every 650 people, while the average for the developed world was one for every 380 people.

The sheer extent of the country's medical services — Kuwait was one of only 24 countries in the world providing public health care to more than 90 percent of its inhabitants, and almost all the others were in Europe or North America — meant simply that services were being stretched. The health service, officials noted, came out of the growth era and required "a stage of assessment and review."

Then came the invasion. Hospitals were vandalized and equipment ripped out, although the worst horror stories about incubators being seized while they were still being used by premature babies now appear to have been untrue. The buildings themselves, however, were less badly damaged than other government facilities. By the end of 1991, some 90 percent of all hospitals, clinics and health centers had been re-opened.

It was against this background of needing to re-equip hospitals and to improve the quality of medical services that the newly elected National Assembly came to consider health issues late last year. There was con-

siderable criticism of the provision of existing services but it was accompanied by discussion of alternatives.

There were proposals that received broad support for what amounts to a national insurance scheme, with a specific levy on wages and salaries, covering employees in both the public and private sector, which would then be dedicated to health-care provision for both citizens and expatriates.

The assembly's initiative was followed up by Public Health Minister Abdel Wahab Suleiman Al-Fawzan, who said a new health insurance scheme was being considered. It now appears that Kuwait will seek to secure an expansion of its health services in the 1990s through increased taxation, although, as in Britain, the deductions will likely be termed insurance. The service will remain free in the sense that there will be no significant specific charges.

In the meantime, the government is refurbishing the hospitals in the wake of the Iraqi invasion and trying to rebuild Kuwait's own medical industries. Last year, India's Paam Pharmaceuticals was negotiating a 150 million Kuwaiti dinar (\$500 million) contract to rehabilitate local pharmaceutical production facilities.

John Roberts

Science and Education: Focus on People

Kuwait's progress in education was summed up graphically a few weeks after its seizure and occupation by Iraq. "Kuwait is not oil; Kuwait is people: civilized, urbane, sophisticated and with a long relationship with the West," said Dr. Hassan Al-Ebraheem, a former minister of education.

"Our investment in human resources in the area of education, health and welfare is without rival. Our schools, universities and research institutions are exemplars to the rest of the region," added Dr. Al-Ebraheem.

The emphasis on education, which regularly received about 13 percent to 14 percent of government budget

allocations, produced major results. The literacy level jumped from a mere 5 percent when Kuwait attained full independence in 1961 to 75 percent by 1990. Education was free and school attendance compulsory from ages six to 14. By the time of the invasion, there were some 500,000 pupils at Kuwait's schools, universities or other educational training institutions. This represented around 30 percent of the country's total population, including indigenous Kuwaitis, immigrants and expatriates.

After liberation, priority was given to getting the schools open again. The Iraqis commonly used school buildings as local military offices. Before they left, they stripped the buildings of almost everything they contained — lights, electric switches and even door handles.

The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was asked to refurbish 154 of the 300 schools that the Ministry of Education determined would be necessary to meet the needs of the country's shrunken population following its liberation. One early response to this demographic change was a declaration that no new public schools would be built. On August 26, 1991, the public school system resumed full activity. There were some changes to the curriculum: pupils were given instruction in how to recognize different types of bombs so they would stay away from them.

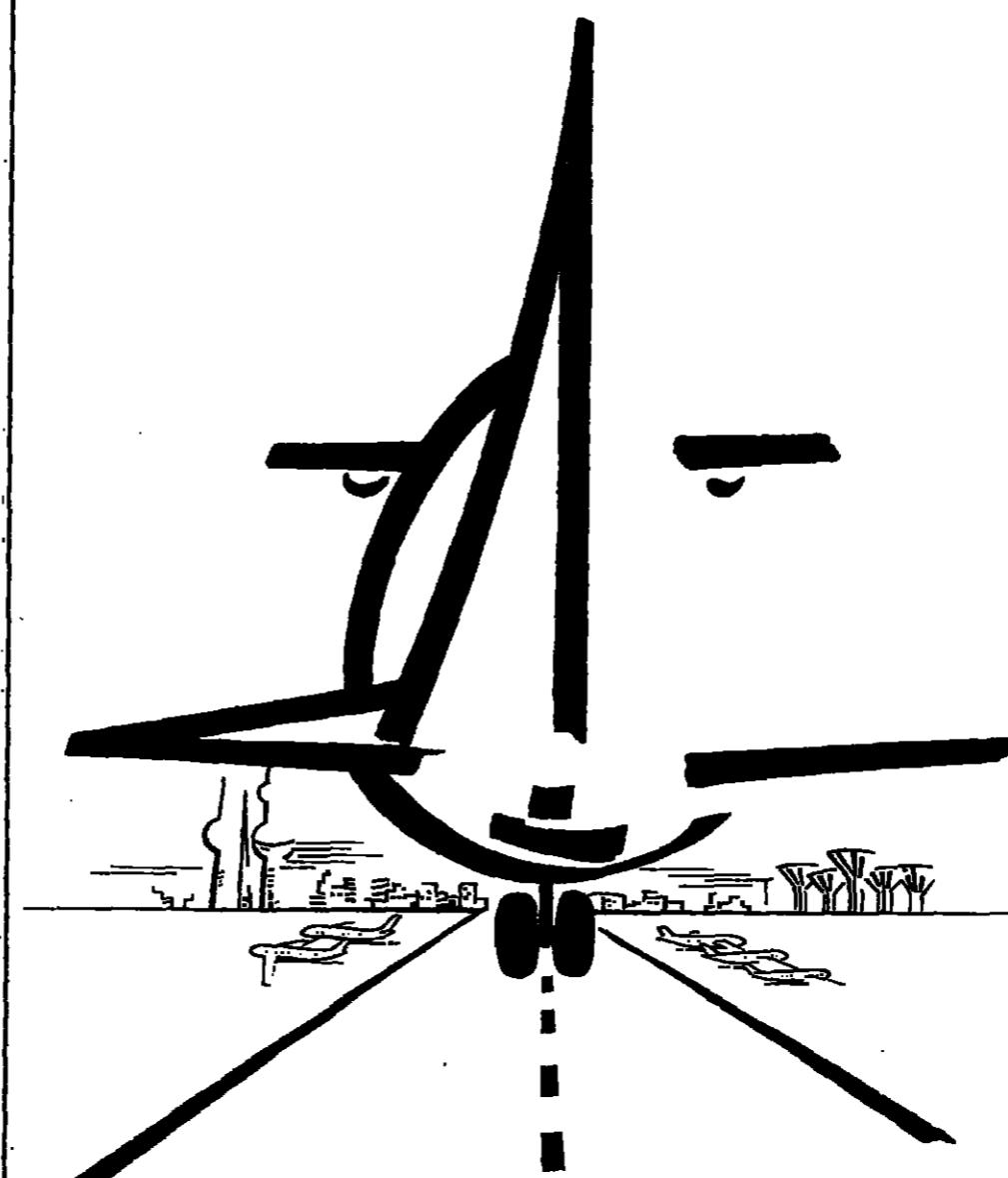
Kuwait University faced particular problems. Not only were its buildings damaged by the Iraqis, but its library was looted, prompting the government to order some 700,000 volumes to replace its lost books. When the invasion came, the university was embarking on a vast rebuilding and expansion project.

Despite a general slowdown in spending, the government decided in 1991 to go ahead with the project, which, including post-war reconstruction work, was budgeted at

around \$450-\$500 million. U.S. consultants Daniel, Mann, Johnson & Mendenhall, together with the local Project Management & Control, were awarded an \$11 million contract last year to resume supervision of the scheme, which is currently scheduled for completion by early 1996. The project includes construction of an enlarged campus at Shuwaikh. The Kuwait Engineers Office, which is currently working on revised plans for the campus, has overall responsibility for project master planning and also for infrastructure, building work and electro-mechanical works.

Over the years, the country's scientific centers have won a high reputation for their ability to research complex problems in the region. Now they are applying their expertise to their own country. The Kuwait Institute of Scientific Research is now carrying out a study for the Ministry of Electricity and Water on the best ways of tackling the rising water table in Kuwait City. The institute's work includes a study of the reasons for the rise and a possible solution, including the eventual implementation of a pilot project to see whether the solution works. J.R.

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Cleanup in action: 749 of Kuwait's 1,080 oil wells were set ablaze during the Gulf War. About 11 million barrels of oil poured into the sea, creating the biggest oil spill in history.

Coping With the World's Largest Oil Spill

Cleaning up and restoring the marine environment in the Gulf following the greatest oil spill in history during the Gulf War will cost at least \$1.1 billion. In comparison, the Exxon Valdez oil leak was equivalent to about 2.5 percent of the 1991 Gulf disaster, according to the United Nations Environment Program.

Kuwait is now appealing to the international community to help finance the cleanup operation and remove the after-effects of this man-made disaster.

The Iraq-Kuwait armed conflict represented a direct, unprecedented assault on the environment and natural resources of the area.... The largest oil spill in history, the ignition and damaging of nearly 800 Kuwaiti oil wells, and military activities in a fragile environment all had a massive and potentially devastating effect on the

mately 4.5 million barrels evaporated into the atmosphere.

"One of the real problems is the effect on the intertidal zone, where there is a continuous source of pollution from oil leaking from the sand, which has become a kind of asphalt mat. Our major concern is that the marine food cycle might be affected — the so-called 'nursery areas' where plankton and algae grow. We just don't know how the pollution will affect what is one of the primary sources in the food chain. However, we have noticed some changes in plankton, and fish may be affected to some degree," he explains, adding that in spite of these findings, he does not think the situation has reached crisis point yet.

Dr. Abdul Rahman Al-Awadi believes it would cost about \$700 million to clean up the shore line where the main pollution occurred. This might take another two to three years to complete. The question now is which method to choose — using chemicals to break up the oil mass or trying to scrape it up by mechanical means? "We are looking into this right now, but the main question is one of finance. Where are we going to get the money from?" asks Dr. Al-Awadi.

The long-term effects of the pollution on Kuwaiti citizens is also being monitored. Two thousand Kuwaitis from 400 families are being regularly examined to see if they have suffered any harm from atmospheric pollution. Dr. Al-Awadi comments: "I am glad to say that up to now the effects do not seem to have been as bad as expected — but don't ask me about what the position will be tomorrow. We still have to wait and see."

The Mount Mitchell cruise between February and June last year was a cooperative venture involving the ROPME, the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission of UNESCO, the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and 15 regional Middle East governments. There were more than 140 scientists from 15 different countries on board the vessel.

M.F.

Long-term effects are being monitored

environment. The crisis provided the first major test of a new sense of global responsibility to the world's environment," according to a UNEP report published December 24, 1991.

Dr. Abdul Rahman Al-Awadi, executive secretary of the Regional Organization for the Protection of the Marine Environment in Kuwait (ROPME) told scientists meeting in Kuwait in January that the same international effort that liberated Kuwait from the Iraqis was needed to "liberate the environment from permanent damage." He told the scientists, who had gathered to hear the preliminary results of a 100-day environmental survey of the Gulf by the U.S. research vessel Mount Mitchell last year, that immediate action was needed to restore the marine environment.

The sea is vital to the people and life of the region and will remain long after oil resources are gone. "Restoring the environment is an enormous task that ROPME and its member states cannot shoulder alone. So, every step must be taken at local, regional and international levels to safeguard the marine environment from permanent ecological damage and destruction," says Dr. Al-Awadi, who was in charge of the emergency anti-pollution committee. Of the 10 to 11 million barrels of oil spilled into the sea, he says, 1.5 million barrels were recovered, between 4 and 5 million landed on the coast and approxi-

Recovering a Nation's Cultural Heritage

Thousands of looted items are still missing from Kuwait's National Museum, most of which was destroyed by Iraqi troops. It was Saddam Hussein's attempt at "ethnic cleansing" — to wipe out Kuwait's heritage and national identity.

Restoring the museum complex, which included a planetarium, is expected to cost around \$20 million. Although it has been more than two years since Iraqi soldiers stripped and burned the museum and

30% of collection is still missing

planetarium, leaving a blackened shell behind, the smell of burning lingers on so strongly that it might have taken place yesterday. The only identifiable objects in two of the main exhibition galleries are parts of air-conditioning equipment lying on a carpet of broken glass and metal frames that is more than a foot deep in places.

Inside the planetarium are lighting and display control computers and the main Zeiss "space master" projector twisted by the heat — the remains of an earthbound version of star wars. A splendid large brass astrolabe set on a concrete base remains intact in a downstairs display room. "They took out every one of the 100 bolted-down chairs in the auditorium but left behind the costly technical equipment before they set fire to the place. We will never understand the minds of those lunatics," says Mohamed B. Al-Qatami, director of the planetarium, adding: "They could have taken the projector and other equipment for spares as they have exactly the same kind of planetarium in Baghdad."

Mr. Al-Qatami believes it will cost \$5 million to restore and re-equip the planetarium, which will be the first part of the National Museum complex to be rebuilt. About four companies from the United States, Germany and Japan are expected to tender for the supply of technical items.

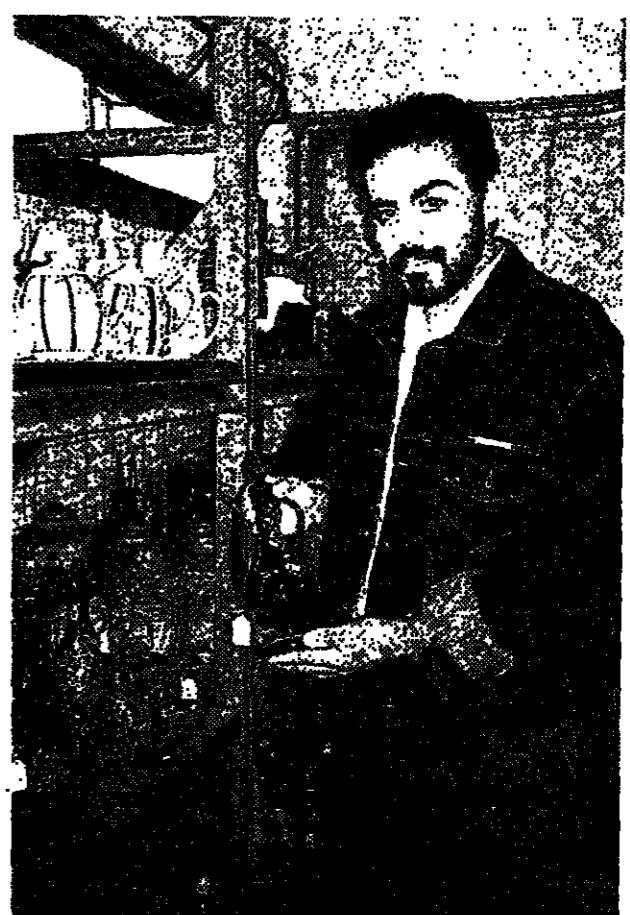
The Iraqis also took Kuwaiti ethnic treasures from other exhibitions at the Kuwait airport and the museum on Failaka Island. Weapons, mainly old

rifles, were taken from a museum at Jabra close to the Iraqi border, but these were found in an Iraqi tank soon after the liberation. "Now we are finishing compiling lists of the remaining missing objects from all over Kuwait, which we are giving to the United Nations so that the UN can try to force Iraq to give us back all our treasures," says Miss Al-Dawood.

A report has also gone

be the first to be opened. "The problem is we don't really know when. We are getting a lot of help from countries like Denmark, France and the United States but it's a question of money and priorities," explains Miss Al-Dawood. At the moment, it appears that no definite action will be taken for some time.

In the meantime, the museum authorities are going to concentrate on traveling exhibitions



A National Museum staff member with items returned from Iraq.

to UNESCO detailing the current position and seeking advice and help with restoring the National Museum to its former glory. Two of the main exhibition halls were only slightly damaged and will

M.F.

The Creation of Energy



From early man

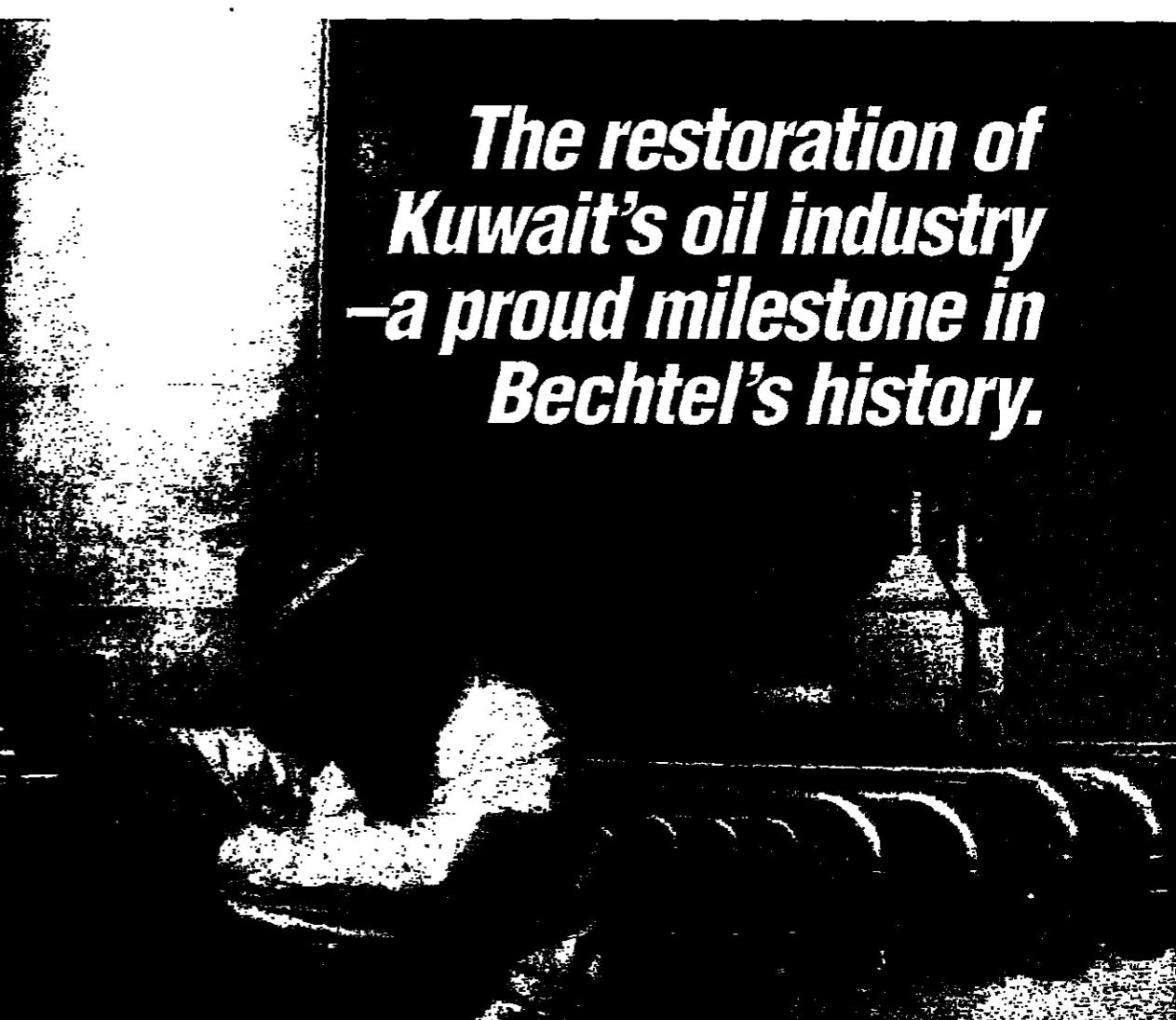
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Politics and Publishing
Take Two-Way Street

In an unusual arrangement with two publishing houses, James Carville and Mary Matalin — the odd couple of politics — are going to write a book together about the 1992 presidential campaign. The deal still awaits the signatures of Carville, who worked for President Bill Clinton during the election, and Matalin, who worked for former President George Bush. Although they are a couple, they decided to go their separate ways until the presidential campaign ended. Their book deal gives Simon & Schuster and Random House publishing rights for both hardcover and paperback editions.

Columnist Russell Baker will succeed longtime host Alistair Cooke on the Public Broadcasting Service series "Masterpiece Theater." Baker, 67, will take over in October from the 84-year-old Cooke, who retired last year after 22 years as host, saying it was time for "somebody young, new and fresh." Baker, who will continue to write his "Observer" column for The New York Times, said: "May the gods of television be merciful."

Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Washington and changed her name, Marilyn Quayle changed hers when she left. Back home in Indiana, where she is a partner in a law firm, Quayle has added her maiden name. The name Marilyn Tucker Quayle appeared on a news release issued by the firm on her appointment.

Alex Haley's "Roots" research papers and manuscripts go on public view this week, reopening the controversy over the authenticity of his major work, Haley, who wrote "The Autobiography of Malcolm X" and "Roots: The Saga of an American Family," died last month of a heart attack in February 1992.

Princess Diana is to make an official visit to Nepal next week, her first such trip abroad since separating from Prince Charles.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED
Appears on Pages 5 & 23

POSTCARD

Back to Piano Rolls

By Lindsey Gruson

New York Times Service

BUFFALO, New York — Long after the last musical is dead and forgotten, live music will still soothe heavy hearts.

So on behalf of musically deprived generations yet to come, it is time to pay tribute to QRS Music Rolls Inc., the United States' oldest and largest manufacturer of music rolls — the perforated sheets that are the brains, and hands, of player pianos.

Practicing a craft that resonates more with nostalgia than innovation, the artisans at QRS' red-brick factory in Buffalo use an 80-year-old technique to make piano keys dance and music swell, toes tap and fingers snap, even though there is no piano.

"There's something magical about seeing the piano play without somebody sitting there," said Robert J. Berkman, QRS' chief operating officer. "You open up the box, take out the roll of paper with notting but holes in it and suddenly you have live music. It's hard to understand where the life originates."

QRS now has 80,000 player-piano enthusiasts on its mailing list and last year sold more than 200,000 rolls of music, said Ann Jones, the company's office manager.

In the age of digital sound, it may seem that music rolls should have gone out of fashion long ago. But collectors of Americana, hotels with pretensions of sophistication, he acknowledged.

Player pianos are still being made by several companies, including Yamaha, which offers a high-tech version.

In a time of synthesizer-produced mega-hits, piano-roll fans say it is time their music got some respect.

"Somebody who knows what they're doing can manipulate the controls and make satisfying and expressive music," Berkman said.

"You have to have some innate music talent. I believe some people simply can't do it."

Although player pianos are oddities now, they were once the country's home entertainment centers.

In 1926, at the height of player-piano popularity, QRS sold almost 11 million rolls, raising concerns that it would gain a monopoly in the music market. And the equivalent of a platinum record for musicians in the early 1900s was a QRS invitation to cut a roll.

but karaoke budgets, and baby boomers inheriting player pianos are all steady customers.

And musical illiterates, perhaps haunted by happy memories of childhood sing-alongs, remain the main audience of music rolls, which cost \$6.95 for a single and \$10.95 for a medley.

"Most are composed as sing-alongs because people wouldn't know where to tap their feet," Berkman said. "We have to make every beat pretty obvious or people get lost."

That's why "Achy Breaky Heart" was the hottest tune on the 1992 player-piano hit parade. Other rolls include "The Entertainer," a perennial favorite, and "Yellow Polka-Dot Bikini" and "New York, New York."

Musicians, especially those who make their living off live performances, may dismiss player pianos, which cost around \$6,000, as musical marionettes with the same relationship to music that a museum's public poster has to fine art. But aficionados say there is art in playing player pianos, though that may seem oxymoronic.

Most sound just dreadful because they are played too loud and too fast, Berkman admits. "People think of us as playing old-fashioned tunes on out-of-tune instruments," he acknowledged.

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Paul Bowles: Quieter Days in Tangier

By Rose Tempest
Los Angeles Times Service

TANGIER — Shrunken with old age and hobbled by a painful nerve ailment in his hips and legs, Paul Bowles still manages a smile when he recalls the scorpion bums years ago in the sub-Saharan countryside.

"Scorpions build holes in the roots of palmetto trees," the American novelist and composer recounts fondly.

"My driver and I used to hunt them in October with sticks. We wet the ends of the sticks with saliva and stuck them in the holes. You could feel it when the scorpions took hold — like lobsters — and you had to pull them out quickly or you would lose them." With a set of nail clippers, Bowles would strip the tiny barbed stinger off the scorpion's furred tail. His chauffeur and companion in scorpion "fishing," a Moroccan named Temsaman, would then suck the now-harmless arachnids in his coat.

After both men returned to the port city of Tangier, Temsaman would casually slither into a chair next to a friend in one of the high Spanish cafes in the old quarter.

"Here, I have something for you," he would say, reaching into his pocket and encouraging the unsuspecting friend to hold forth his hands to receive the surprise: Voilà! Several large, wriggling, frantically striking scorpions, deadly when armed.

Shrieks from the terrified recipient.

Tables overturned in horror and desperation retreat.

Howls and more shrieks from those at neighboring tables.

Ha Ha Ha.

Delivered in clinical detail, with the precise diction of a master linguist, the story seems positively chilling, although to Bowles it is clearly just good fun.

Catching the Saharan scorpions was only the beginning of the fun for Bowles, whose macabre repertoire of pranks also included secretly doping his friends' food with cannabis jam and watching them freak out. Indeed, his is the kind of practical joking that Edgar Allan Poe or H. P. Lovecraft might have enjoyed.

But the author of "The Sheltering Sky" and other haunting stories of North Africa has long been renowned for his taste for the bizarre, and nearly half a century after he moved to Tangier, that taste is still intact. Meeting Bowles now, still elegant but often bedridden with sciatica is much like entering a museum of American literature and music of the 1940s and '50s.

At 82, he has been the resident guru for several generations of American writers, ranging from Tennessee Williams to William Burroughs. With Bowles and his wife, the late novelist and playwright Jane Auer Bowles, as the beacons, Tangier became a



Author Bowles in 1952: He was the resident guru for generations of writers.

regular port of call for expatriate artists fleeing the doldrums and persecution of the Eisenhower-McCarthy era back home.

Inspired by Bowles' thematic fascination with native witchcraft and sexual violence, most of the tales that oozed out of the Tangier literary circle — including "The Sheltering Sky," resurrected as a 1991 film by Italian director Bernardo Bertolucci — had strange, twisted plots. Williams used the nearby coastal town of Asilah as the setting for "Suddenly Last Summer," his play featuring ritualistic cannibalism. Burroughs' hallucinogenic novel "Naked Lunch," was set in a Tangier male brothel.

Except for Bowles, however, literary Tangier is dead. Its labyrinthine alleys in the medina — the old city where Burroughs and his friends, the writer-fathers Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac, once cavorted — have been cleared of their most overt vices by the Moroccan government. After an incident in 1957, in which one of Bowles' friends was jailed after being accused of seducing a 14-year-old German boy, the newly independent government began monitoring illegal sexual activities in the expatriate community.

For many years, Bowles always careful not to mention Morocco by name in his

books for fear of wearing out his welcome, found it increasingly difficult each time he went to the local police station to renew his annual *carte de séjour*.

"The police used to be very snooty to me," he says now, his voice revealing a hint of pride — the pride of a man who never wanted to be accepted by authority. "I found it very difficult to get my annual permission to live here. Once it took 22 months. One policeman told me, 'Monseigneur, Bowles, vous êtes ici depuis trop longtemps.' You have been here too long."

But in recent years, the pressure on Bowles to leave Tangier has eased.

Proof of his acceptance as a cultural monument is the latest slick coffee-table book on Tangier, distributed to visitors as a gift by the governor of the province. It features a picture of the author, dapper in a necktie and tweed jacket, working at his typewriter at the American School of Tangier. Although he has not written stories for years, Bowles — an accomplished composer before he took up novels and travel writing — annually writes the score for the theatrical performance at the 270-student school.

Still, Bowles spends most of his time these days in the tiny bedroom of the fifth-floor apartment where he has lived for 40 years. Occasionally, he says, he still smokes if, the Moroccan concession made from the tender leaves near the flowers of the marijuana plant. Next to his bed is a round table stacked with a few books, letters, doctors' prescriptions and bottles of medicine. The only window in the room is shrouded by a thick blue curtain that permits just a sliver of outside light.

Bowles says he has found it very hard to stay warm in recent years, even in the temperate climate of North Africa (According to the biographer Michelle Green, who wrote the book "The Dream at the End of the World: Paul Bowles and the Literary Renegades in Tangier," Gertrude Stein once described Bowles as "delightful and sensible in summer, but neither delightful nor sensible in the winter.")

It was Stein, still holding court at the time in her Paris Left Bank salon, who suggested Tangier to Bowles as a creative place to settle. He had visited there before — in 1931, in the company of his musical mentor, Aaron Copland. Sixteen years later he and his wife, who died in a Spanish mental hospital in 1973, moved there, and the legend of Tangier's postwar expats began.

As though preserved for decades in Morocco's desert climate, Bowles's recollections are spiced with first-name references to "Tennessee" and "Aaron" and "Truman" — as in Copote, who wrote some of the more vivid descriptions of life during the town's literary heyday.

It is the memory of Copote that stirs Bowles's recollection of the scorpion hunts. Bowles had never liked Copote and never forgave him for describing expatriate American writers as being "among the planet's most pathetic tribes, sadder than a multitude of homeless Eskimos starving through a winter night seven months long."

Bowles has no telephone, so one either writes him for permission to visit or, more often, simply shows up.

Despite a bitter rejection of his homeland, years of experimentation with hallucinogenic drugs and frequent sorties into local witchcraft and mystic cults here, Bowles has never lost the gracious good manners of his middle-class upbringing on Long Island, New York. By all accounts, he receives each of his visitors, even from the most sensational of the British tabloids, with equal hospitality.

Even before the Bertolucci film starring John Malkovich and Debra Winger as Port and Kit Moresby — the ill-fated couple whose relationship closely matched that of the Bowles — Paul Bowles's apartment had long been a pilgrimage point for historians, documentary filmmakers and journalists seeking a glimpse of a literary dinosaur.

WEATHER

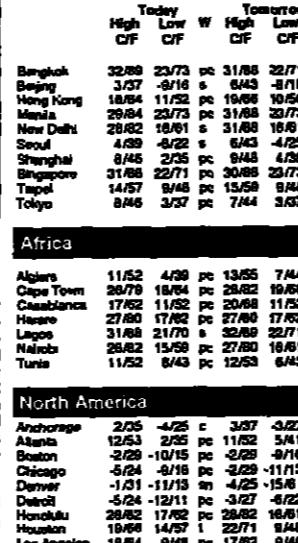
Forecast for Thursday through Saturday



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Asia



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